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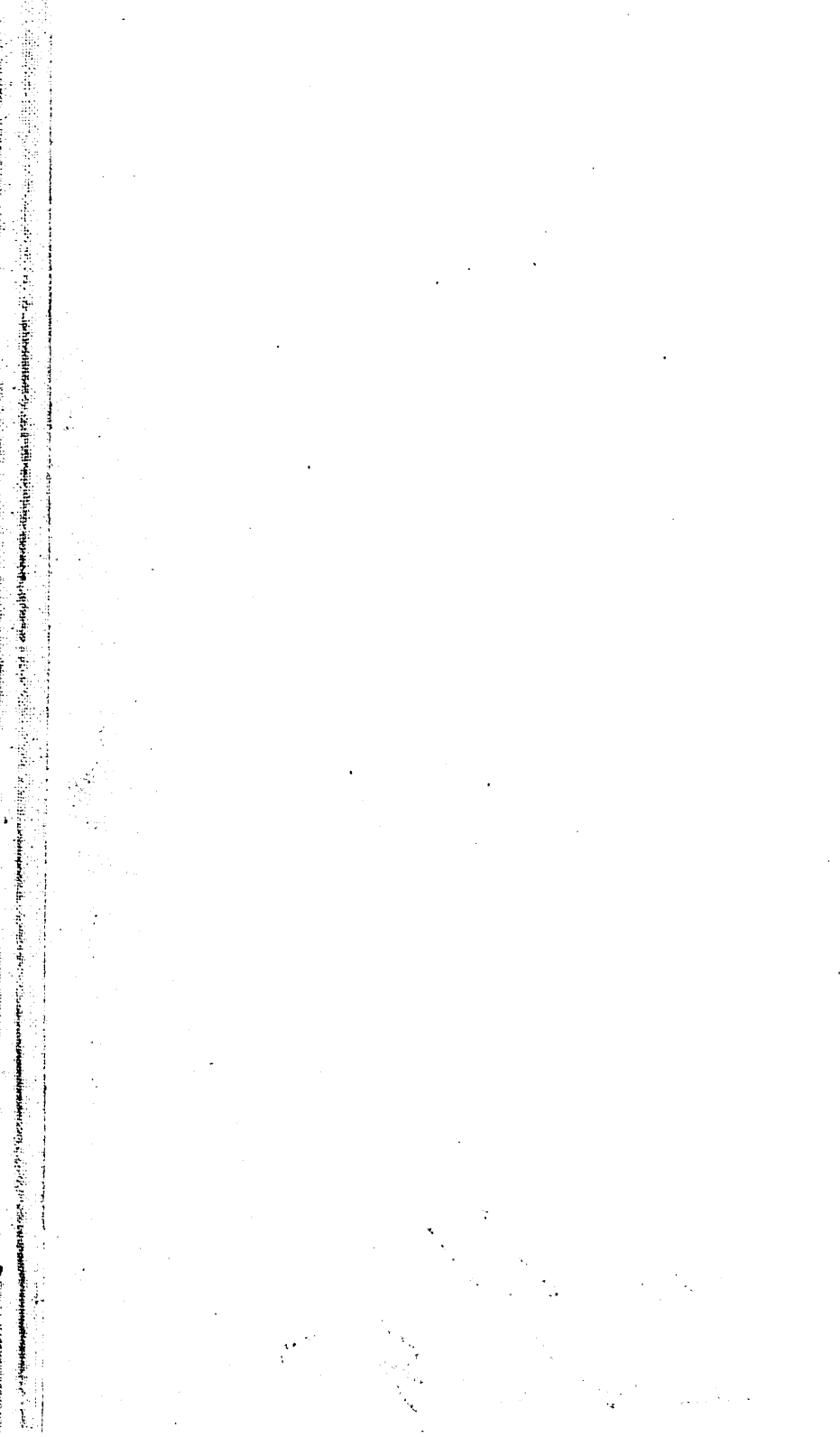
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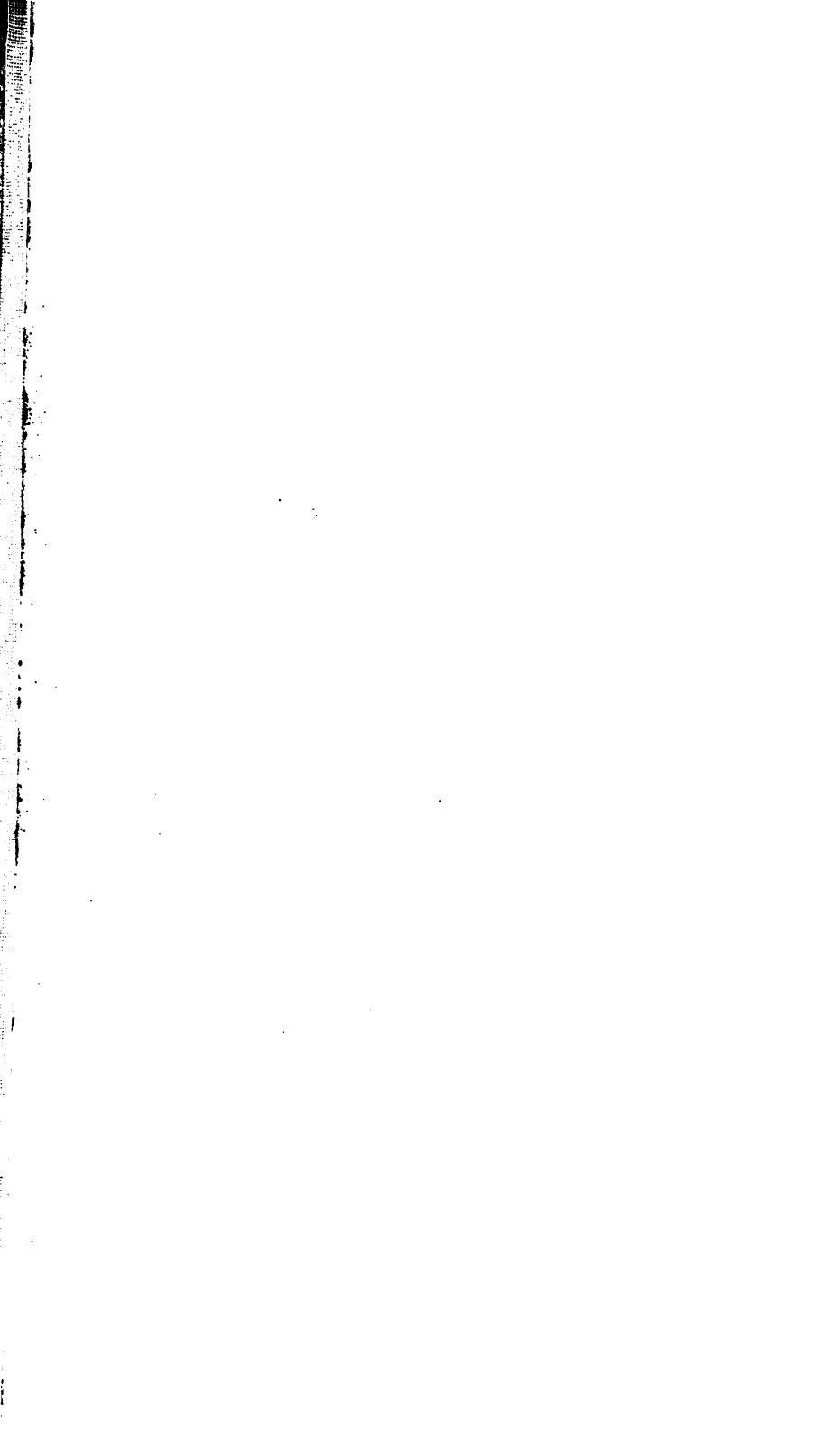
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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

CIVIL AND MILITARY, || LITERARY,
ECCLIASTICAL, || COMMERCIAL,
POLITICAL, || &c. &c.

FROM THE TIME OF

ITS CONQUEST BY CLOVIS, A.D. 486.

BY

The Rev. ALEXANDER RANKEN, D.D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

VOLUME THE THIRD,

From the Accession of HUGH CAPET, A.D. 987, to
the Accession of St. LEWIS, A.D. 1226.

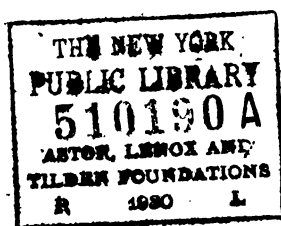
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THE THIRD VOLUME.

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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE.

BOOK III.

The History of France, from the Accession
of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987, to the Acces-
sion of Lewis, 1226.

CHAP. I.

The History of France, Civil and Military, from
A. D. 987, to A. D. 1226.

SECT. I.

Reign of HUGH CAPET, A. D. 987, to A. D. 997.

THE vast empire of France, so compact and ^{A. D. 987.}
powerful under the active and vigorous ^{State of}
government of Charlemagne, relaxed and fell ^{France;}
afunder during the feeble and distracted admin-
istration of his successors. Not only the inde-
pendent states of Italy, the empire of Germany,
and the temporary kingdoms of Lorraine and
Burgundy, arose from that disruption; but the
governors of provinces, counties, cities, and the
holders of benefices, generally took advantage of

A. D. 987. the weakness and contentions of the Carlovingian princes, and of the circumstances of the times, to convert their benefices into fiefs, to extort one fief from the crown after another, to establish and aggrandise the feudal aristocracy, and to render some of the crown-vassals superior in property and power to the king.

Lewis V., the last of the Carlovingian race, was the nominal king of France: but all his domain consisted of Laon, Soissons, and la Fere. He was the head of the feudal government; for France was then a grand fief rather than a regular kingdom, somewhat like the modern empire of Germany. Lewis was entitled officially to issue his summonses and mandates to the crown-vassals; but so powerful were they, that they regarded his authority, or not, at their pleasure.

Arnulph II. was count of Flanders, which comprehended all the country between the Scheldt, the Sea, and the Somme.

Henry, brother of Hugh Capet, was duke of Burgundy.

The house of Vermandois possessed a great part of the Isle of France and Picardy, with Brie, Senlis, and Champagne.

Normandy and Bretany were held by Richard, grandson of Rollo, and brother-in-law of Capet.

William,

William, surnamed Fierabras, was duke of ^{A.D. 987.} Guienne, or Aquitaine, one of the largest governments of France.

William Sancho was the seventh hereditary duke of Gascony.

Navarre, though rescued from the Moors, had not yet attained the rank of an absolute and permanent sovereignty. It seems to have been dependent or independent on France, according as the government of the latter was able, or not, to demand and enforce the submission of its great and distant vassals¹.

The extensive counties of Languedoc and Provence were generally governed by the counts of Thoulouse; who were sometimes called dukes and princes of Provence, Gothland, or Septimania.

Hugh Capet was duke of that division of France, sometimes still called Neustria, or Normandy, comprehending a part of Picardy and Champagne, the city and county of Paris, Orleans, the district of Chartrain and Perche, the county of Blois, Touraine, Anjou, and Maine.

¹ Glaber represents that country as a part of France, and as governed, not by a king, but by a duke, whom he calls William the Holy; yet in the next book he styles him king of Navarre. Glabri Rodulphi Hystor. lib. ii. 9. & iii. 2.

Glaber, who was a monk of St German at Auxerre, begins his history, which is chiefly ecclesiastical, A. D. 900, and ends A. D. 1045. His facts may be depended on; but his observations and arrangement are like all of those times.

A. D. 987.

Any of these, though nominally vassals of the crown, were much more powerful than Lewis the king.

The higher Burgundy, now Switzerland, was governed by Conrad, son of Rodolph II., as an independent kingdom.

Lorraine, on the Moselle, acknowledged the emperor of Germany as its sovereign. The lower Lorraine, west of the Meuse, was held as a fief of Germany, by Charles, son of Lewis Transmarine, uncle of Lewis V., and now lineal heir of the crown.

Considering France in this divided and insubordinate state, we cannot wonder that the power of the crown was small, and the government inefficient. By gradual but continued encroachments, royalty was reduced to that low ebb, when revolution necessarily commences, to restore energy, order, and stability to human governments.

The policy of the king consisted in forming and maintaining an alliance with the nobles who were nearest his person, and most able to give him support. But if he was unwise and inactive; or if they were refractory, and more than one rebelled against his authority; it became necessary to yield to them on any terms which they chose to prescribe.

and of
Europe.

The other kingdoms of Europe adjacent to France were not in a situation to interfere with its internal government, nor disposed to question any

any deviation from the usual hereditary line in the succession of its princes. A. D. 987.

During the whole of the reign of Ethelred, England was infested by the Danes, and on his death, A. D. 1016, submitted to the sceptre of Canute, their victorious leader.

The Moors occupied the greater part of Spain; but the Christians were gaining ground on them, under the renowned Bermudo.

Otho II., having expelled the Greeks out of Italy, left it and the empire of Germany to his son Otho III., then only ten years of age. Crescentius the consul, taking advantage of this minority, twice expelled the Pope, and attempted to restore the ancient republic of Rome. After many vicissitudes, however, and at the end of thirteen years, Otho took that city by assault, beheaded Crescentius, and restored the former order of things.

Such was the state of France and of Europe when Hugh Capet ascended the throne.

He was the son of Hugh the Great, count of Paris, and duke of France; the grandson of king Robert; grand nephew of king Eudes; and great grandson of Robert the Strong, who is said to be a descendant of Charlemagne. Any attempt to trace his origin farther, seems vain². This is the

² "Cujus genus ideo adnotare distulimus quia valde
"mante reperitur obscurum." Glabri, lib. i. c. 2.

A. D. 987. the opinion of Glaber, a contemporary historian. It appears also to be a reasonable conclusion from the uncertain and contradictory statements of those who have laboured on the one hand to deprectate his birth, and on the other to trace it back to the remotest times.

His qualities.

His personal qualities, his general conduct, and his great authority, were all favourable to his ambition. His mildness, affability, and gentleness rendered him universally agreeable. To the sagacity and discernment of a wise politician, he added the energy and courage of an able warrior. He had particularly distinguished him-

“ Sic ut aliqui dicunt translatus est regnum Francorum de progenie Karoli, in progeniem Comitum Parisiensium. Aliis tamen, nec sine causa, videtur quod in Hugone isto non defecit progenies Karoli Magni. Arnulphus quidem Imperator Romanorum, filius Karolomanni filii Ludovici Germanorum regis, fratris Karoli Calvi, regis Francorum & Imperatoris, genuit Ludovicum juniorem Imperatorem. Qui Ludovicus duas tantum habuit filias, Placidiam & Matildem: quarum primogenita Placidia nupsit Conrado filio Conrardi Comitis, qui post Ludovicum juniorem imperavit. Matildis vero data est uxor Henrico filio Othonis Ducis Saxonum. Qui Henricus mortuo Conrado, et ejus uxore Placidia sine heredibus, imperavit cum uxore sua Matilda de qua genuit primum Othonem Imperatorem, & duas filias Gerbergam uxorem Ludovici regis patris istius Ludovici, sine herede mortui, & Haovidam matrem istius Hugonis Capucii. Per quæ patet quod ipse descenderit de progenie Karoli Magni.—Hoc etiam attestatur Innocentius Papa, qui, in Decretali sua, Ludovicum sextum qui descendit ab isto Hugone Capet, adstruit processisse de progenie Karoli Magni.” Chronicon Willielmi Nangii apud Duchesne, vol. ii. p. 627.

self

self in the war against the emperor Otho II., and had secured military confidence and general respectability. A.D. 987.

The circumstances of the kingdom were not unlike those in which Pepin had superseded the Merovingian family, and taken possession of their throne. Hugh's power was as great as that of Pepin. He could not indeed exercise authority over the nation, as the mayor was accustomed to do; but it was the less necessary, as the kingdom was now divided into so many great fiefs, which never readily co-operated, and to some of the most adjacent and powerful of whom he was nearly related, or intimately allied.

Like Pepin, he was sensible of the influence of the clergy; and by gratifying them, he obtained their approbation, and concurrence in his measures. He submitted to voluntary penances, assisted in the transportation of holy relics, and restored the abbeys which he held, as an example to others of his opinion, that no warrior or married person ought to hold ecclesiastical benefices.

Pepin's conduct, which was singular since the origin of the monarchy, became now a precedent in favour of Hugh Capet. Till the daring revolution accomplished by the former, the line of Merovingian kings was unbroken and sacred: the line of the Carolingians had been interrupted repeatedly by Eudes, Robert, and Rodolph, ancestors of the latter.

A. D. 987.

His caution.

Considering the imbecility of the race, the veneration of the people for them could not be great: caution, however, was necessary, to prevent that sympathy, which sometimes unexpectedly kindles into zeal in favour of the injured: it was of importance to rouse and confirm prejudices against Charles duke of Lorraine, uncle of the deceased Lewis V., the only surviving legal heir of the crown. It was carefully circulated, that he had voluntarily abandoned the French interest and nation, by accepting Lorraine as a vassal of the emperor of Germany. Is it becoming the French people, it was urged, to prefer a deserter and foreigner, as their king; to one who had valiantly defended the kingdom, and chased the emperor, the lord paramount of this mean Carolingian, into his own dominions? The temper of Hugh Capet, his deportment, his manly and royal qualities, were extolled. Visions and other instruments of superstition were published, as evidence of the approbation of him by Heaven. A testament of the late king was alleged and urged in his favour. Finally, an assembly of clergy and nobles was held at Noyon, in which he was unanimously chosen; and on the third day of July, A. D. 987, he was solemnly anointed king of France.

In ascending the throne of France, he had made little or no change, but in the title of duke, as Pepin had formerly done that of mayor, into king. His authority was nominally, but not really increased. The least attempt against the independent state and spirit of the barons, shewed him

him the precarious kind of tenure by which he ^{A.D. 987.} held the crown. "Who made you a count?" said he, to Adelbert of Perigord. Adelbert coolly replied, "Who made you a king?"

As soon as he was seated on the throne, he thought it necessary, for his security, to crush the power, and, if possible, extinguish the claim, of his rival Charles. Supported by the count of Vermandois his father-in-law, the earl of Flanders, the archbishop of Sens, and the duke of Guienne, the pretensions of Charles were still formidable; but his allies were some of them distant, and it was of importance by prompt measures to prevent the junction of their forces: it was resolved therefore instantly to invade and subdue Guienne. ^{His successes.}

Having assembled an army, the king crossed the Loire, and laid siege to Poitiers. The duke William, with a superior army, obliged him to raise the siege, and retreat; but urging him too close, forced an engagement, in which the provincials were cut to pieces by the royalists, and the contest was decided. The whole country south of the Loire, which was expected to declare for Charles had William conquered, now acknowledged Hugh Capet, and submitted to him as king.

Charles, on the other hand, having directed ^{His defeat} his arms against Laon, the strongest city of the kingdom, and then the residence of the queen-

* Aquitanicæ Hist. Fragment. Duchesne, tom. iv.

mother

A. D. 987. mother Emma, carried it by assault, before the king was able to march from Guienne to its relief. He lost no time, however, after his victory: he came and laid siege to the city; for several weeks he made no impression on it; and when he least expected it, was attacked at the same time by a sally of the besieged, and by an army from without, which totally defeated him, and burnt his camp.

The hopes of the Carlovingians were raised high by this success. The royalists were disappointed, but not much discouraged. A new army was levied; and the war continued without intermission, and without any remarkable contest of arms, for two years. Secret influence and treachery were more resorted to on both sides, than open violence.

Arnulph's
treachery;

When Arnulph, nephew of Charles, was made archbishop of Rheims, there were some who flattered themselves that he would be detached from the interest of his own family, and think himself bound in honour and gratitude to appear in support of the family on the throne, who had raised him to this exalted station. The king, indeed, was reasonably suspicious of his loyalty, but yielded to the faith of it, on the consideration only of the repeated and solemn oaths of allegiance and fidelity by which Arnulph assured him of his attachment. The perfidious priest, however, was no sooner in possession of the episcopal city, than he betrayed it to his relation Charles, and involved himself in the double crime of treachery and perjury.

On

On the other hand, Ascelin, bishop of Laon, soon after betrayed that city, with Charles and all his family, and the traitor Arnulph, into the hands of the king. Charles languished in prison two years; when his death, the circumstances of which are not recorded, but which most probably was natural, put an end to the hopes of his family, and to the calamities of war.

A.D. 989.

Arnulph was imprisoned in the same tower of Orleans with his uncle; but being an ecclesiastic, it was necessary, from a respect to the church, to submit his cause to a synod of the clergy. The discussion was long and tedious: the evidence of his guilt was abundant; yet there appeared a disposition in the council to treat him with tenderness; when the king thought it prudent to attend himself, and to urge the justice and necessity of an immediate decision. This stimulated the assembly; Arnulph was even brought to an open confession of his crimes. He prostrated himself before the king and all the assembly, in a manner which moved them to tears. It was finally agreed to spare his life, but to deprive him of his ecclesiastical dignity and clerical character. He was required in their presence to resign the ensigns of his office. He accordingly delivered the ring and pastoral staff into the hands of the king; and the other badges of an ecclesiastical nature to the bishops. The formula of his abdication, which he read and subscribed, was as follows: "I Arnulph, formerly archbishop of Rheims, conscious of my weakness and guilt, have admitted and approved Siguin and Daibert, archbishops, and Arnulf, Gotesman, &c. bishops, as my judges:

A. D. 989. " judges : to them I have sincerely and fully
 " confessed my crimes in all their turpitude, for
 " the relief of my conscience and the salvation
 " of my soul ; and now resign my pontifical
 " office and charge, of which I acknowledge
 " myself altogether unworthy, in order that
 " another more worthy may be appointed and
 " consecrated in my room." At his desire, the
 bishops present subscribed this formula along
 with him ; after which the president pronounced
 the ordinary words of deposition, *Cessa ab of-*
ficio, denuding him of his office, and dis-
 solving his pastoral relation to the diocese of
 Rheims⁴.

His deposi-
 tion.

The king consented indeed to spare his life,
 but ordered him back to his former prison in
 Orleans.

Gerbert,
 archbishop
 of Rheims.

The learned and famous Gerbert being ap-
 pointed and ordained his successor, the pope
 John XV. protested both against the deposition
 of Arnulph and the ordination of Gerbert, claim-
 ing, in such case, the right of judgment in the
 last resort. This claim was undoubtedly an
 invasion of the privileges both of the church and
 state of France. Of this the king was sensible ;
 but, unwilling to incur the pope's displea-
 sure, was rather desirous to obtain the appro-
 bation of himself as sovereign of France, and
 to be consecrated personally by him, as the
 highest sanction of his right to the throne. He

⁴ Fragmenta divers. Scriptor. apud Duchesne, vol. iv.
 p. 112. Epist. Gerberti. Historia Deposit. Arnulfi.

wrote

wrote to him, therefore, requesting an interview A.D. 992.
 at Grenoble, the place of former conferences of
 kings of France and Roman pontiffs. This the
 pope cautiously declined, but sent a legate into
 France, for the purpose of reviewing the whole
 of Arnulph's case on the spot.

The council of Moulon, in which the legate Council of Moulon.
 presided, was awed by the arguments and elo-
 quence of Gerbert. He spoke as follows :

“ Most venerable fathers—I have never Gerbert's
 “ ceased to look forward to this day with anxiety speech.
 “ since my friends first announced their inten-
 “ tion of ordaining me, in these critical circum-
 “ stances, to the office of archbishop of Rheims.
 “ My zeal for the best interests of the people,
 “ and the authority in which I confided, assured
 “ me of safety. My heart was impressed with your
 “ former favours, and soothed with the sweet
 “ enjoyments of your continued friendship, when
 “ it was loudly reported to me that your counte-
 “ nance was clouded, and that you repented
 “ the former attentions and kindness which you
 “ had shewn me. My heart sunk within me,
 “ I confess ; for I dreaded the indignation of my
 “ friends, more than the naked sword of my
 “ enemy. This opportunity, however, which a
 “ gracious Providence affords, I eagerly embrace
 “ to state my innocence.—After the death of
 “ Otho, I resolved to live under the patronage
 “ of my spiritual father Adalberon, when, with-
 “ out my knowledge, I was designed on his
 “ death for the pastoral office which he filled.
 “ By simoniacal means, Arnulph was preferred
 “ to

A.D. 992. “ to me. I acquiesced, and was duly subject to
“ him. When I heard of his treason, I deserted
“ him ; not with any hope of obtaining his be-
“ nefice, as my adversaries have insinuated, but
“ animated by a virtuous indignation against his
“ crimes. After a long and full trial, Arnulph
“ was condemned ; and the archiepiscopal see of
“ Rheims was declared vacant by law. I was
“ intreated by my reverend brethren, and by
“ the nobles of the kingdom, to accept that high
“ office, and undertake the charge of a ne-
“ glected and divided people. At first I declined,
“ but afterwards obeyed with reluctance ;
“ for then I foresaw many of the evils which
“ were likely to attend me in that station. I
“ consented, however ; such was my simplicity.
“ I protest before God, and all of you ; I assert
“ my innocence ; I have maintained a good
“ cause. Lo ! calumny instantly fluttered over
“ me with noisy wings and infectious breath :
“ You have betrayed your master, it was said ;
“ you have thrown him in to prison ; you have
“ seized his spouse ; you have invaded his
“ see !—How could I betray a master whose
“ servant I never was ; to whom I never
“ was engaged by any kind of obligation or
“ oath ? While I remained under him, it was
“ by the express command of my father : I was
“ plundered ; and scarcely escaped naked with
“ my life. Having fled from him after his
“ apostacy, I had no farther knowledge of him,
“ nor communication with him. How then
“ could I betray him of whose conduct and situ-
“ ation I was totally ignorant ? Neither was
“ I accessory to his imprisonment : on the con-
“ trary,

“ trary, it can be proved by faithful witnesses, A. D. 992.
 “ that I have requested his enlargement. For if
 “ your judgment shall pass in my favour, Ar-
 “ nulpf shall become too insignificant to affect
 “ me. If, on the contrary, (which God forbid!)
 “ you should decide against me, what shall it
 “ avail me whether Arnulpf or any other be
 “ archbishop of Rheims? It is foolish to talk of
 “ seizing his spouse, and invading his see. The
 “ church of Rheims was never legally his. It
 “ was altogether an adulterous violation, by
 “ means of the basest simony. Besides, even
 “ granting that the spiritual union was legally
 “ formed, it was also legally dissolved. How
 “ then could I be said to seize his spouse, or
 “ invade his see, when it was no longer his?
 “ But it is said, I have disregarded the holy
 “ apostolic see, to which an appeal was carried
 “ against me. I answer, nothing was done, no
 “ step was taken in the whole cause, which was
 “ not made known to the pope. Eighteen
 “ months his judgment was anxiously waited
 “ for and expected. When man was silent, the
 “ Son of God himself was consulted; who said,
 “ *If thy right eye offend thee, pluck it out, and*
 “ *cast it from thee.* The guilty was accord-
 “ ingly cast out. Arnulpf’s guilt was acknow-
 “ ledged by himself. Had he been absolved
 “ when his guilt was so clear and confessed,
 “ they who absolved him should have been in-
 “ volved in his guilt. Wherefore the church
 “ of Rheims, having become vacant by his con-
 “ demnation and deposition, was conferred by
 “ the bishops of France on me reluctant, fear-
 “ ing the evils which have since befallen me. If
 “ there

A.D. 992. " there has been any deviation from rule or law
 " in the whole of this business, it is not by
 " design or malice, but by necessity. Minute
 " and precise application of law, in circum-
 " stances of extreme danger, may be the death of
 " an individual, or the ruin of a country.—*Silent*
 " *equidem leges inter arma*.—Such was the op-
 " position and rage of parties, that the churches,
 " the altars, the ministers of God, were abused ;
 " and the country was plundered. At this
 " crisis you interposed your authority: you
 " held forth your shield for the general protec-
 " tion. I obeyed your commands: I undertook
 " the arduous charge of the see of Rheims,
 " conscious that in so doing I hazarded my
 " life."

The effect of this speech was, that the council, in opposition to the influence and hope of the papal legate, came to no other resolution than to indict another meeting at Rheims on the first of July following. The legate attempted to suspend Gerbert in the interval till that meeting. He boldly insisted, that no one, however high in office, had power to deprive him, unconvicted, of any privilege: at the same time, by the persuasion of some of his brethren, out of respect to them, and a regard, not to their authority, but their recommendation, he agreed to refrain from certain exercises of his office till the meeting at Rheims.

Council of
 Rheims.
 A.D. 995.

The council of Rheims assembled, as indicted, within two or three weeks. After violent contention they deposed Gerbert; suspended from
 their

their office all the bishops who had assisted in ordaining him, and deposing Arnulph; and required that the latter should be released from prison, and restored to his office⁵. A. D. 997.

This sentence was duly intimated to the king. He dreaded the vengeance of the pope and clergy, but feared more the consequences of liberating this only remaining and treacherous branch of the Carlovingian race. He seemed to acquiesce in the sentence of the assembly, and in the will of the legate; but retained Arnulph in prison as long as he lived: and it does not appear that he received any farther trouble on that account.

He died the following year, leaving one son only, Robert, who succeeded him, and three daughters: Navida, who was married to Regnier IX., count of Mons in Hainaut; Adelaide, who was married to Renauld I., count of Nevers; and Giselles, who was married to Hugh I., count of Ponthieu. Death of
Hugh Capet,
October 24,
A. D. 997.

The name of Hugh Capet is great and venerable; not merely on account of his wisdom and valour, and other personal good qualities, but as the first of a long race of kings, who for eight hundred years occupied the throne of France. By the Carlovingians and their friends, and by all impartial and sober-minded men, he must

⁵ Velly is mistaken when he affirms that Gerbert retained Rheims. On the contrary, he is said to have professed repentance. He certainly left France soon after; spent some time at the court of Otho III. in Germany; was elected to the episcopal see of Ravenna; and thence ascended the papal chair by the name of Sylvester II. *Acta Concilior. Har- duini, tom. vi. pars i. p. 734—738. edit. Paris, 1714.*

A. D. 997 have been originally considered as an usurper. For this usurpation, the imbecility of the race, and the insufficiency of the royal domains to maintain the government, present something like an argument of expediency; but when more strictly examined, it is the mere plea of rapacity. It was in fact the success of Hugh Capet, which sanctioned his conspiracy; and the long continuance of his race on the throne that he usurped, which has acquired for him respect and veneration.

Customs and laws have been ascribed to him, which existed long before his time. He was not the original author of the law or custom which excluded the younger princes and natural children from a share in the partition of the kingdom. This rule, as has been stated in the preceding book, was observed by Charles the Bald in the deed by which he disposed the whole kingdom to Lewis; and it was kept in view, though violated, in the portion given to Carloman: it was maintained strictly, however, in the case of Lothaire, who succeeded to the whole kingdom by the exclusion of his brother Charles, duke of Lorraine. Hugh Capet therefore followed only the rule proposed and generally observed by his predecessors, when, soon after his own accession to the crown, he settled his dominions on his then eldest son, Robert. On Gauvain, his younger son, who died afterwards, he conferred the abbey of Fleury, and the archbishopric of Bourges.

Neither was he the author of the order of peers. It arose with the feudal system: all who held their lands by the same tenure of one lord paramount,

paramount, were *pares*, equals in rank and privileges. They were reduced afterwards to the number of twelve, and distinguished above the other nobles of France⁶. A.D. 997.

The malady *des Ardens* afflicted the kingdom in this reign: forty thousand persons are said to have died of it. We have no proper description of its nature and appearance, but that it was attended with a burning heat proceeding from inflammation, which, being succeeded by mortification, cut off the patient in a few days. It prevailed most in the south-west of France. The only remedy which was thought to prove effectual, was the application of relics, and solemn processions⁷.

The disorderly state of the country, and the association of many of the nobles to prevent and mitigate the evils complained of, to relieve the oppressed, and to protect the weak and the innocent, contributed much to the institution and regulation of chivalry, which will come more properly under consideration in the third chapter of this book.

⁶ Du Tillet, Favin Theatre d'Honneur, Velly Hist. tom. ii. p. 287. Pere Daniel Hist. tom. ii. p. 337.

⁷ Glaber, c. 7. describes it as follows: "Desæviebat eodem tempore clades pessima in hominibus, ignis scilicet occultus, qui, quodcumque membrorum arripuisset, exurendo truncabat a corpore, plerisque in spacio unius noctis hujus ignis consumpsit exustio."

SECT. II.

Reign of ROBERT, A. D. 997, to A. D. 1031.

A. D. 997.

Robert's
qualities.

ABOUT six months after his own accession, the late king had associated his son Robert with him in the throne and government. That prince, on his father's death, was nearly twenty-six years of age. He was tall, and handsome in his person; his eyes justly expressed a mild and modest temper, his nose was large, and his general aspect interesting. According to the custom of the times, he wore a large beard: his shoulders were broad and somewhat raised; and his arms were remarkably long¹. His generous disposition, gentle manners, and affable deportment, rendered him universally popular; while his liberality to the poor, his piety, and his munificence to the church, gave him great influence over the clergy. His taste for learning, and the successful cultivation of his talents under the tuition of the celebrated Gerbert, afterwards Sylvester II., enlarged and polished his mind. Several writers of that age speak of him with enthusiasm as eminent in letters².

¹ "Sedens equo regio, (mirabile dictu!) pene jungebant pedum digiti calcaneo, & hoc erat videntibus in seculo pro miraculo." Sitting on horseback, his fingers reached almost to his heels. Helgaldi, Flor. Epit. Vit. R. apud Duchesne, vol. iv.

² "Rex sapientissimus literarum." Id. ibid. Helgauld was a monk of Fleury, and wrote the life of Robert, A. D. 1059.

For nearly ten years he had been accustomed ^{A. D. 997.} to the direction and conduct of public affairs. Though by no means destitute of military skill and experience, he preferred peace; and his excellent understanding and engaging manners secured to him, over the whole kingdom, a respect and authority, far more stable than the mere power that is acquired and maintained by the dread of arms. The lords of the kingdom not only seldom interfered with, or disturbed his government, but were frequently prevented by him from engaging in quarrels and private wars, to which in these times of feudal pride they were much addicted; and by the intervention of his wisdom and good offices, all differences were happily reconciled.

He was far however from being altogether free from inquietudes, both of a domestic and political nature. He was distantly related to his wife Bertha, daughter of Conrad king of Burgundy, before their marriage. He had also stood godfather to her son by a former marriage, which had long been considered as constituting a spiritual relation, and by the canons of the church as forming a sufficient obstacle to prevent marriage without an ecclesiastical dispensation. Clerical policy invented and maintained many such frivolous obstructions and difficulties in those times of ignorance and superstition, for the purpose of increasing and establishing ecclesiastical revenue and authority.

His marriage with Bertha questioned.

He was strongly attached to Bertha, from whom the thoughts of separation were painful as the pangs of death. But Gregory the fifth,

A. D. 997. proud, revengeful, and zealous for the honour of the church, had not forgotten the indignities committed against the clerical order and the papal authority by him and his father, in detaining Arnulph in prison, contrary to the decree of the council of Rheims, in which his legate presided; and it is probable that he was also animated with the spirit of his friend and patron Otho III. king of Germany, who was at that time the enemy of the reigning family in France. He formally examined the circumstances of Robert's marriage with Bertha, and declared it null and void. This sentence being disregarded by the king, was followed by a sentence of excommunication, in which, notwithstanding his great popularity, the clergy of the kingdom concurred, who considered themselves absolutely bound to support the head of the church against an incestuous and contumacious prince. The consequences of such a sentence in times of ignorance and implicit faith in a superstitious church, were awful. The kingdom was laid under an interdict: the administration of government was suspended: the courts of justice were shut, and religious privileges withheld: the very dead remained unburied: the king himself, so courteous and engaging, was deserted; two domestic servants only were permitted to attend him. Such, however, was the general veneration for this prince, that no advantage was taken of his condition to promote disorder, nor to encourage insurrection.

He is ex-communicated;

Awed by these circumstances, yet not shaken, he adhered to his queen, who was then pregnant; nor could any thing but death have separated

rated them, had not farther advantage been taken of his credulity. Notwithstanding his learning and cultivated mind, we must believe that he was imposed on; since the story is confidently related by several of the best historians of his time. Bertha was delivered, as he was made to believe, of a monster ³. One of them gravely describes it as resembling a goose, particularly in the head and neck ⁴. This unhinged Robert's spirit, who considered it to be a miraculous testimony of Heaven against both his marriage and ecclesiastical contumacy; and perhaps he now feared a general insurrection of the kingdom. He put away Bertha, and expiated the ^{and yields,} sins with which he stood charged, by a public acknowledgment, and by other exercises of penance which were prescribed to him.

This proved a great victory of the ecclesiastical over the civil power; nor did Gregory neglect to reap the fruits of it: with an authority to which he seemed now entitled, he demanded the enlargement of Arnulph from prison, and his restoration to the archiepiscopal see of Rheims.

The sentence of excommunication and the ^{A. D. 998.} interdict being removed, the functions of government, civil and ecclesiastical, were resumed by Arnulph: order and harmony were restored; and the king was again revered and loved as much as ever.

³ *Historiæ Franciæ Fragmentum*, apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 85.

⁴ *Ex Epist. Petri Damiani*, *ibid.* p. 145.

A. D. 998.

It has been already observed that he was averse from war; nor had he indeed any occasion directly on his own account to engage in it: but when the vassals of the crown required his aid as their lord paramount, he readily heard them, and successfully defended them. He chastised Eudes II., count of Chartres, for invading the territories of Burchard, count of Corbeil. He asserted his right to the duchy of Burgundy, which legally fell to him on the death of his uncle Henry, against the pretended right of adoption exhibited by Otho William, the son of that uncle's wife by a former marriage, and attempted to be maintained by several of his powerful relations. He conferred that duchy, first on his second son Henry, and afterwards on Robert his third son, whose heirs were dukes of Burgundy for three hundred and sixty years.

Tranquil-
lity of
France.

For more than twenty years the state of France continued so tranquil, that no event of a civil nature occurs, which can be at all interesting to future generations. Some pages of history, from a barrenness of more important subjects, are occupied with the account of an insignificant sect, rather indeed of an ecclesiastical nature⁵. An Italian female persuaded some even of the clergy, as well as the people, chiefly about the city of Orleans, to deny the creation of the world, the doctrines of revelation, and some of the essential principles of morality. Her success only shewed what may frequently be observed, that there is

⁵ Glabri Rodulphi Hist. lib. iii. c. 8. Fragmentum Hist. Aquit. apud Duchesne, tom. iv.

nothing

nothing too absurd to be believed, and nothing so vicious to be practised, which an implicit faith may not easily enforce: that the opinions of the Stoics and Epicureans, of the Gnostics and Manichees, of Deists and Infidels, floating, naturally on the surface of unprincipled and disorderly minds, will break out at distant intervals, as circumstances favour them, in different forms, to mislead the simple, to fill the lover of apparent novelty with wonder, to disturb society, and to try the patient or persecuting temper of church and state. The clergy were alarmed, and the king sympathised with them. An assembly was convened at Orleans, where he attended, and thirteen of the chief of these heretics were examined, convicted, and burnt. But the milder and more reasonable means of instruction were more successfully employed at Arras. Velly wisely observes⁶, "So true it is that scaffolds can never succeed in promoting the truth: violence," he adds, "produces obstinacy, but mildness subdues it." Very different are the observations of Pere Daniel on the same subject⁷. Governed by prejudice, and regardless of the fact; he represents these infidels of Orleans as the origin of the Albigeois, the forerunners of the reformation, and of the protestants; and adds, "So dangerous it is for princes to believe too soon that they have extinguished heresy."

Henry, the king of Germany, was no less generous than Robert. They justly esteemed

Interview
of Henry
king of

⁶ Velly Histoire de France, tom. ii.

⁷ P. Dan. Hist. tom. ii.

A.D. 1000.

Germany
with
Robert.

one another. They proposed a personal interview on the Meuse, which bounded their respective kingdoms. Their ministers, unwilling that either should appear by greater advances inferior to the other, were contriving a temporary platform and edifice for their reception in the middle of the river. Henry, whose ardor and greatness of mind despised these formalities, crossed the river with his queen, and surprised Robert with a frank and friendly visit in his tent. The meeting was cordial and interesting. They spent the day together. The visit was returned next day by Robert, with equal enjoyment. Their mutual presents of horses, harness, and armour, of gold and jewels, were rich and magnificent. Their friendship, and the tranquillity of their dominion, were thus increased and confirmed*. A cordial, though more distant intercourse, the same historian observes, was maintained with Robert, by Ethelred king of England, Rodolph king of Austria, and Sancho king of Navarre.

Ambition
of the
princes.

The peace of the kingdom was for some time disturbed by the ambition of Hugh, the king's eldest son, whom, contrary to the advice of his ministers, he had early associated with himself in the government. The restraints which the queen wanted still to impose on him, notwithstanding his advanced age and rank, his own ambition to possess more power and to enjoy more splendor, and the counsel of discontented and foolish men, who are ready in every age and country to em-

* Glabri Rod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 2.

brace favourable opportunities of embroiling the government, tempted him to quit his father's court, and to erect the standard of rebellion. The country, now less accustomed for some time to war, was more alarmed than injured: and the prince, adorned on the whole with good talents and an amiable disposition, was soon persuaded, and constrained, by his father's good sense and mildness, to relinquish his designs of rebellion, and return to a sense of duty and the enjoyment of peace. A. D. 1000.

This prince, in other respects, was highly respected and universally popular. His personal and princely qualities, his private and public virtues were so eminent, that on the death of the emperor Henry II. the states of Italy offered him the imperial crown. This honour his father and he declined, from a spirit of contentment, and a love of peace. He was cut off by an illness of only ten days, at the age of twenty-one; and his death was mourned by all ranks as a public calamity⁹.

The king, anxious to secure the crown of France to his family by hereditary succession, and to prevent any occasion of hesitation and disturbance on his death, proceeded immediately to associate his second son Henry in the govern-

⁹ Glabri Rod. lib. iii. c. 9. in Poemate Elegiac. The condition of this prince is thus described by Fulbert, Epistola 2da, addressed to Robert the king: "Neque enim in domo vestra cum securitate, vel charitate licet ei manere, neque foris est ei unde vivat cum honore regi competente."

A. D. 1000. ment with him. This the queen Constance attempted to oppose, as well from a personal dislike to Henry, as from a capricious partiality to Robert, his next younger brother. She decried both the temper and talents of the former, and extolled those of the latter. Her zeal and activity made considerable impression on many of the lords and clergy; but custom and law had now for a long time decided the precedence in favour of the eldest living son: and the king and his ministers were determined to adhere to a rule and practice so established and salutary. An assembly therefore was convened at Rheims, in which Henry was solemnly anointed and crowned¹⁰.

Prince Robert entered not into his mother's prejudices. Generous and judicious, he cordially approved of the preference so reasonably shewn to his elder brother: and when this difference of opinion from the queen alienated her affection from him, even to the degree of hatred and persecution, he left the court with his brother, who was now equally driven to rebellion. They took up arms in self-defence: each at the head of his friends and party began to seize on such towns as were most accessible: the king assembled an army and marched against them. Both the father and sons however respected each other, and it was with pain that they now appeared opposed in arms. At Dijon, acknowledgments were made on both sides, and a reconciliation took place. The dissensions deeply

¹⁰ Glabri Rod. Hist. lib. iii. c. 9. Epist. 50, inter Fulbert, affected

affected the father's spirits, and impaired his health. He died next year at Melun, in the month of July, A. D. 1031, in the sixtieth year of his age".

A. D. 1031.
Death of
the king,
A. D. 1031.

Robert's death was sincerely regretted by all his subjects. Affable and kind in his temper; peaceable, mild, and steady in his government; his subjects contrasted his reign of thirty-three years with the reigns of his predecessors, and exclaimed, "We have lost a father; we have lived under him in security; we prospered, and feared no evil."

Such was his piety, that a miraculous influence was ascribed to him; and he is believed to have been the first of the kings who touched scrophulous persons in order to cure them. He is said to have been not only learned, but even elegant in letters; that is, he was acquainted with the vulgar and learned languages of his time, wrote some poetry, and discovered both judgment and taste in attempting to improve the Romans tongue, which was then common in France".

SECT. III.

Reign of HENRY I. A. D. 1031, to A. D. 1060.

THE death of Robert revived the hatred and inflamed the zeal of the queen Constantia, against her eldest son Henry, who now justly

Henry is
opposed by
his mother
Constantia.

" Glabri Rodulphi Hist. lib. iii. c. 9.

" Helgald, in Vit. Roberti; Glabri Hist. lib. iii. c. 9.

succeeded

A.D. 1032. succeeded to the full possession of the crown. She persuaded her favourite son Robert, whose interest she meant to promote, to second her measures, and actively to appear as a rival to his brother. She roused to arms her partisans in different counties, but chiefly in the neighbourhood of Paris: they assembled rapidly, and in such numbers as merited a better cause; and several places of strength in Burgundy and Neustria declared for her.

but is generously assisted by the duke of Normandy.

Henry being surprised, narrowly escaped with a few friends from Paris. He hastened to Normandy, and represented to the duke Robert II., his own situation, and the state of the kingdom. That generous nobleman briefly assured him, that the wisdom, wealth, and valour of Normandy were at his service, and immediately proceeded to realize his words by action. The frontier towns of Normandy were filled with soldiers, to prevent any inroad into that country, and to be in readiness to seize any favourable opportunity which might occur, of marching rapidly against the army of the rebels. The duke's uncle, Mauger, count of Corbeil, entered zealously into the service, and carried fire and sword into the territories of the insurgents. Never was more promptitude displayed, or more seasonable severity exercised. The lands of the queen's adherents were every where desolated, and their castles laid in ruins. Eudes, count of Champagne, three times hazarded an engagement with the royal army, by whom he was defeated, and nearly taken prisoner. The queen and her friends, dispirited and alarmed, began to sue

sue for peace, which after some time she obtained, through the intercession of Foulque, count of Anjou. Her death in the following year, totally dissolved the faction, and left the king in the full enjoyment of the government. Robert, for whom she had engaged, or affected to engage, in this rebellion, was not only pardoned by his brother, whose fraternal affection and esteem anticipated his apology, but received from him, the investiture of the duchy of Burgundy. The king next paid the debt of gratitude which he owed to the duke of Normandy, by augmenting that duchy, already so large, with several towns and territories, Gisors, Chaumont, Pontoise, and all the Vexin, strengthening his government and the security of the kingdom by suitable alliances. He married Matilda, the daughter of Conrad emperor of Germany. On every occasion he discovered a superior understanding, a laudable moderation of temper, and a military skill and valour, which inspired his people with confidence, and kept his enemies in awe¹.

A. D. 1031.

Death of
Constantia.

Burgundy Transjurane, which had been an independent sovereignty about one hundred and fifty years, now fell under the superiority of Germany. Rodolph, the last of its kings, dying A. D. 1033, without issue, left it to Conrad the emperor, who had married his niece. Eudes, count of Champagne, his nephew, had offended him, by his immoderate eagerness and impatience

Burgundy
Transju-
rane.

¹ Glabri Rod. Hist. lib. iv. c. 8. Fragment. Hist. Duchesne, tom. iv.

A.D. 1031. to secure so noble an inheritance. He attempted now to supersede the testament of his uncle Rodolph, and to recover the kingdom by force of arms. But his rival, the emperor, was already in possession, and by far too powerful for him. After various attempts and defeats, the count was killed in battle, and Burgundy became quietly a fief of the German empire².

The two sons of Eudes succeeded him in his other territories: Thibaud as count of Chartres and Tours, and Stephen as count of Champagne and Meaux. They refused to do homage for these lands to the crown of France, on pretence that the king had not supported their father against the arms of Germany in Burgundy. Such a pretence might lead us to suppose, that the feudal law was not yet generally understood, as Eudes, their father, had no claim on France on account of Burgundy, which was not a fief of France, but an independent kingdom. Had it been a fief of the French crown, their conduct would have been reasonable; for it was the duty of the emperor, by the feudal law, to support and protect his vassal, as much as it was the duty of the vassal to acknowledge and serve his lord paramount. But it was a mere pretext for joining Eudes, the king's brother, in his attempt to wrest the sceptre from the hand of his lawful sovereign³.

² Glabri Hist. lib. iii. c. 9. Sigebert, Ann. 1033.

³ An old Chronicle (apud Duchesne, vol. iii. p. 361.) says, that this Eudes was the late king's eldest son, whom he had designedly neglected on account of his incapacity.

They

They encouraged him in his rebellion, and supplied him with troops, which they led to the field. They were able, however, only to express a fierce resentment by cruel ravages. The king's activity, and the valour of his troops, soon defeated the whole party, of which the chiefs were all taken, and thrown into prison. A. D. 1033.

Amidst the various superstitions of those times, pilgrimages to the tombs of supposed saints, and especially to those in Palestine, became frequent, as expressions of penitence for sin, and as means of obtaining and securing the Divine favour. Robert II., duke of Normandy, who lately aided the king so effectually against his mother's conspiracy, and not only had subdued and humbled his own factious vassals in Bretany, but having been called to interpose in the factions which then distracted England, had acquired there martial fame and great authority, was infected with this superstition, and resolved to visit the Holy Land. Duke of Normandy's pilgrimage

His friends and subjects all remonstrated against this resolution, as a measure adverse to his family and the interests of the duchy. He had no legal heirs; having only, by a Falaise damsel, a natural son, named William, then about nine years of age, who was afterwards the conqueror of England. He loved him tenderly, and destined him to be his heir; but in case of his absence, or dying in the pilgrimage, there was reason to fear that the succession of an illegitimate youth would be disputed, and the country torn with civil wars. His mind being determined on pilgrimage, he did all that human

A. D. 1033. wisdom could devise, to secure William's succession. He bound the states of Normandy to him by solemn oath, and committed him to the friendly care of Henry the king, whose obligations to him, for the kingdom which he held, were of the strongest kind, and ought to have been sacred and inviolable. Having used every precaution for the order and security of Normandy, he set out on his pilgrimage, and having accomplished the design of it, died at Nice on his return home*.

his death.

Several pretenders now preferred their claims to Normandy. Notwithstanding the ancient custom of France, by which illegitimate children were allowed to succeed almost equally with legal children, William was represented as a bastard, and unworthy of the inheritance. The views of Roger, count of Toni, and Allain, duke of Bretany, were soon frustrated by their death.

Henry's ingratitude.

Henry was bound by gratitude, as well as by solemn engagement, to have protected and supported the young duke; but, instead of this, he basely fought and obtained an occasion of dis-

* Glaber represents the number of pilgrimages to have been very great at this time, and to have consisted of all ranks from every country. "Per idem tempus ex universo orbe tam innumerabilis multitudo cœpit confluere ad sepulchrum Salvatoris Hierosolymis, quantam nullus hominum prius sperare poterat. Primitus enim ordo inferioris plebis: deinde vero mediocres: posthæc permaximi quique reges, & comites, & præsules: ad ultimum vero, quod nunquam contigerat, mulieres multæ nobiles cum pauperioribus." Lib. iv. c. 3.

sension

sension and war. On pretence of some disorders ^{A.D. 1033.} having been committed on his territories by the garrison, he first seized and demolished, then rebuilt and garrisoned, the frontier fort of Tilliers; after some time, it is true, on a representation having been made to him, that his conduct was ungrateful and ungenerous, he repented, resumed a nobler spirit, entered with zeal into the service of the young duke against different insurgent vassals, and pretenders to his duchy, and, at the hazard even of his life, fought and totally defeated the army of Renaud. ^{A.D. 1046.}

Henry's ambition to take advantage of the duke's minority, in order to weaken the duchy, and to recover it to the crown, rendered him unstable and unfaithful. William of Arques, a descendant of Richard II., duke of Normandy, was encouraged by many of the states to prefer his claim to the duchy; and Henry professed to support his claim, rather than that of a bastard. The councils of the young duke, however, were so well directed, and his army so ably conducted, that the king was soon obliged to surrender the fort of Tilliers, and the count of Arques to abandon his claim to the duchy^s.

Similar attempts afterwards to embroil the states, and to seize the ducal crown of Normandy, were opposed with equal vigour and success; and Henry, in particular, was at length taught, that neither honour nor prosperity could

^s Gulielm. Gemet. lib. vii. Gulielm. Malmesb. lib. iii.

A.D. 1046. be expected to follow ingratitude, and the violation of the most sacred engagements.

His son's
coronation,
A.D. 1059.

His infirmities warning him of his mortality, and Philip his son by Anne, a princess of Russia, being only seven years of age, he became anxious to secure his succession, and convened a numerous assembly of the states of the kingdom at Rheims. To this assembly he represented his services, and his ardent desires for the best interests and security of the kingdom. He observed, that it had been the frequent practice of the kings of France to associate their sons in the government with them during their life, in order more easily to secure their succession, and the peace of the kingdom, at their death. He presented Philip to them as his son and heir, and now requested them to receive him as such, and solemnly do him homage, as his associate and successor. All with one voice approved of the measure; and having severally and solemnly sworn allegiance, Philip was consecrated, and crowned king. The pope offered to preside on the occasion, and claimed it as his right to interpose, in order to give validity to the transaction; but his claim was with spirit rejected, and his legate only in courtesy permitted to be present⁶.

The following ceremonies were observed at this coronation :

⁶ Act. Concil. tom. ix. Hist. Franc. Fragm. apud Duchesne.

After

After the celebration of mass on the day of Pentecost, Gervase, the archbishop of Rheims, who presided, turned towards the young prince, and having stated and expounded to him the Catholic faith, interrogated him, whether he believed it, and if he would defend it? Having answered in the affirmative, Philip read and subscribed the coronation oath, as follows: " I
" Philip, by the grace of God, king of the
" French, promise before God and his saints,
" that I will preserve to every one of you, and
" to your churches, your canonical privileges,
" and will duly maintain law and justice; and
" that, with the help of God, I will protect you,
" as far as it shall be in my power, and as it is
" becoming every king in his own realm to
" maintain the rights of the church and clergy
" committed to his protection. In a word, I
" will take care that the laws shall be duly ad-
" ministered to all the people over whom I am
" this day placed." Having read this, he re-
turned it into the hands of the archbishop; after which that prelate, taking the pastoral staff of St. Remi, declaimed on the right which the archbishops of Rheims had exclusively enjoyed since the days of Clovis, of consecrating and crowning the kings of France, which right was confirmed to them by the deeds of popes Hormisdas and Victor; then having received the consent of Henry the father, he declared Philip king of France. The pope's legates were next permitted, not as a right but as an expression of regard, to repeat the same declaration.

A.D. 1039.

The words of the declaration were now proclaimed by the other archbishops, bishops, abbots, and clergy; by the nobles according to their rank; by the soldiers and people present, from circle to circle; all exclaiming three times, "We approve; we will; so be it".

The ceremony was concluded by the king's subscribing the claim of the archbishops of Rheims to preside always exclusively on such an occasion, and by constituting Gervase his chancellor. Gervase entertained the king and the whole assembly, which was very numerous; but under protest, that his successors should not be afterwards held bound to sustain this burden.

His death,
A.D. 1060.

Henry survived this event only a few months. He died on the fourth of August, A.D. 1060, in the thirtieth year of his reign. He was an active and valiant prince; his temper and character were approved and extolled by the writers of his time; but surely his conduct towards the young duke of Normandy, his ward, and the son of his best friend and benefactor, was unjustifiable and ungenerous.

⁷ "Laudamus; volumus; fiat." Fragment: apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 162.

SECT. IV.

Reign of PHILIP I. A. D. 1060, to A. D. 1108.

THE reign of Philip is more memorable on account of foreign events than domestic occurrences, and by the achievements of others rather than of his own. He was not personally engaged in the conquest of England by his vassal, William duke of Normandy; he took no very active part against the bold schemes and towering ambition of Hildebrand, pope Gregory VII.; nor did he appear, like some of his co-temporaries and successors, zealously animated by the spirit of the crusades, which began so much to agitate and change the state of Europe; but as his kingdom was materially affected by all these, it will be proper to introduce some account of them into the history of his reign.

A. D. 1060.
Philip, a
minor,
eight years
of age.

He was but eight years of age when his father died. His mother being a stranger, unconnected with, and unsupported by, any of the principal nobility, was not qualified to undertake the government of the kingdom. The regency and tutelage of the young prince, therefore, were committed to Baldwin, count of Flanders, a man of sound judgment and great probity, neither destitute of sufficient influence and authority to carry on the administration, nor powerful enough to excite undue ambition, to tempt him

Baldwin of
Flanders,
regent.

A.D. 1063. to betray his trust¹. His conduct in the discharge of the duties of this high office for seven years, and particularly the prompt and vigorous measures which he employed to subdue the rebellion against his government in Gascony, increased and confirmed general respect and veneration. In private wars, he took no share: he seems only not to have discouraged them, thinking it rather favourable to the general influence of the crown, that some of the great fiefs, as those of Guienne, Anjou, and Normandy, should be weakened by such military enterprises as did not affect the peace and common interests of the kingdom. The duke of Guienne, after defeating the count of Anjou, was invited by Alphonso VI. to his assistance against the Saracens, and acquired Balbastro and some territory in Spain, but at too great an expence of blood and treasure. Such a diversion contributed to secure the stability and peace of the kingdom of France. The enterprise of the duke of Normandy against England, was of great magnitude, and followed by important consequences.

William of
Norman-
dy's con-
quest of
England.

Edward the Confessor, king of England, having been educated in Normandy, was early attached to the people and customs of that country. While this prejudice naturally drew over many Normans to England, who were preferred at court, and appointed to many offices of trust

¹ "Probum sane virum, & justi tenacem; qui usque ad
"intelligibilem ætatem eum benigne fovit, regnum gnaviter
"administravit, rebelles & inquietos virgâ directionis oor-
"rexit." Fragment. Hist. ex Biblioth. Pithœi.

both in church and state, it excited the jealousy ^{A.D. 1063.} of the English, and particularly of Godwin, duke of Wesssex, one of the most powerful noblemen of the kingdom. By recent and daily occurrences, this prejudice, which was mutual betwixt Edward and Godwin, rose to hatred, enmity, and open war. The estates of the latter were confiscated, and he himself took refuge in France; where Tosti, one of his sons, married the daughter of the French regent, and where Godwin and his sons procured such a force of men and ships as enabled them to return and demand with success the restoration of his property and privileges. Godwin died soon after, and was succeeded by his son Harold, who inherited his father's prejudices, and exceeded him in ambition and address. He rendered himself extremely popular among the English: he was so cautious and insidious as to secure the favour of Edward. His general influence was so great, that on the death of Siward, duke of Northumberland, he procured that duchy for his brother Tosti. He foresaw the death of Edward without issue, and he entertained the sanguine hope of succeeding him in the throne of England. Edward, who observed his aim and disliked him the more on that account, entertained other views, and was willing to prefer almost any other as his successor, who had but the shadow of a right, and the probable power of enforcing and maintaining it. His own nephew Edward, first and most naturally occurring to him, was sent for, but died on his arrival. He was next most attached to William duke of Normandy, who was distantly related to him. With this nobleman,

I

A. D. 1063. nobleman, who was high in reputation both as a military commander and civil ruler, he had contracted an intimacy, in consequence of a visit which he had received from him immediately after he had secured the settlement and tranquillity of his duchy.

William's ambition was naturally inflamed by the notification made to him, of the English monarch's disposition in his favour. All his thoughts were occupied with that great object: every incident he studied to convert into the means of facilitating and promoting that end. Harold, son of Godwin, his principal rival, unsuspecting of William's ambition and views, which were hitherto kept secret, being driven by a tempest on the coast of Normandy, fell into his hands. After considerable hesitation with respect to the use which he should make of this occurrence, he resolved to disclose the secret, and hoped by this confidence to make Harold his friend. To bind him more firmly, he made him solemnly swear that he would support his interest. Harold was surprised with the information, and for the present judged it necessary to dissemble; but as soon as he was at liberty, and had returned to England, he became tenfold more zealous and active to promote his own popularity and influence, and to increase and confirm the aversion of the English against the Normans. He secured for his most steady friends the government of the principal districts of England, and prudently connived at the voluntary exile of his brother Tosti, in whom indeed he could not place much confidence.

OR

On the death of Edward in January A. D. A. D. 1066. 1066, Harold almost without opposition ascended the throne, and was next day solemnly crowned and anointed king.

Meantime his brother Tosti filled the courts of Baldwin, his father in law, regent of France, and of the duke of Normandy, who had married another daughter of Baldwin, with loud complaints of the injustice and ambition of his brother Harold. He obtained from them, and from Halfager king of Norway, whom he solicited to join him, all the encouragement and aid which he desired. He collected sixty ships in the ports of Flanders; and having been joined by Halfager with three hundred sail, they infested and invaded the north coasts of England, where they excited great alarm, and actually defeated the army which first opposed them, killing its leaders; but were afterwards totally routed and slain by a second army, headed by Harold.

As soon as William heard of Harold's accession, he upbraided him with the violation of the most solemn vows, and required him, agreeably to his engagement, to resign to him the throne of England. Harold, as might be expected, disregarded this message, vindicated his conduct, and declared his determination to reign, or die. William was no less resolute to attempt, by conquest, what in his opinion he had lost by perfidy. In a military age, when the profession of arms only was reckoned honourable, and every man was impatient for an opportunity to
signalise

A. D. 1066. signalise his valour, he knew how easily he could assemble a sufficient army in a cause of such magnitude, in which both his interest and honour were so likely to be gratified. Young as he yet was, he had acquired much experience, and been generally successful, which gave him confidence in himself, and insured to him the respect, attachment, and valour, not only of his own Normans, but of all the military men in the adjacent countries, who crowded to his standard. The neighbouring counts of Brittany, Anjou, &c. from whom only he had any thing to dread in his absence, removed every occasion of fear by the cheerfulness with which they engaged their troops in his service. The court of France, from policy, seemed to discourage the enterprise; but the regent, his father-in-law, secretly encouraged and promoted it. William having appealed to the pope Alexander II. as umpire in this cause, secured his favour, and with it an influence, which in those times, and in such a crisis, was of the greatest importance. Harold was excommunicated as a perjured usurper, a sentence which contributed much to dishearten his own adherents, while it proportionally encouraged those of the opposite party. A fleet of three thousand vessels, and an army of sixty thousand men, many of them illustrious in rank as well as in military fame, were at last collected in the mouth of the Dive, and coasted round to St. Valori, where they waited for a favourable wind. Without any material loss they arrived at Revensey in Suffex, where they were not expected. The English fleet and army having been dismissed as unnecessary, they landed without

without opposition. Harold's attention and army had been engaged in opposing and defeating the army under Halfager and Tostli. He had impolitically denied his victorious troops the spoil on that occasion, which induced many of them to desert him: some of the bravest were slain; and others withdrew from the fatigue of so long and rapid a march, from the north to the south of England. Reinforced, however, by fresh troops as he advanced southwards, Harold marched straight to meet the enemy; and, contrary to the remonstrances of his wisest friends and ablest officers, who urged the policy of harassing, rather than engaging, an invading enemy, he resolved to hazard the kingdom by a general engagement. A.D. 1066.

On the morning of the 14th of October, the two armies drew up in line of battle near Hastings, and fought with desperate valour. The unfavourable ground occupied by the Normans suggested to their leader, that a feigned retreat might relieve them from that disadvantage, and involve the enemy in it: twice he seized the critical moment, and the stratagem succeeded. Harold at last was slain by an arrow in the hottest part of the battle. His brothers falling also about the same time, dispirited the English, who gave way on all sides. Much slaughter ensued; but the darkness of the night checked the pursuit, and saved many of those who fled. William, who had three horses killed under him, lost near fifteen thousand Normans; but the loss of the English, besides their leader and his brothers, must have been still greater.

Having

A. D. 1066.

Having with becoming devotion given thanks to Heaven on the field of battle, the Norman army lost no time, but pressed forward against the dismayed English. William made himself master of Romney and Dover, to secure, if necessary, his retreat, and by quick marches proceeded directly to London. There he met with little or no opposition; every one rather pressed forward to welcome him, so that apparently with general consent he ascended the throne of England².

Consequences of the conquest of England on France.

The tranquillity of France was the immediate effect of this expedition; but the success which attended it, astonished and alarmed Philip. He enjoyed less the honour of having a king for his vassal, than he dreaded the consequences of such a vassal's aggrandisement. He blamed the regent, who had encouraged the enterprise. It gave the English a footing in France, and was certainly the origin of those jealousies and wars in which the two nations have almost ever since been constantly engaged. If it was indeed blamable, it was almost the only thing in the conduct of that nobleman's public conduct which wore even the semblance of imprudence. His death soon proved a real loss to the kingdom, which he had governed with great wisdom and integrity; and the king himself, though but fifteen years of age, now assumed the reins of government.

² It seems unnecessary to refer, on a subject so well known, to particular authorities; which, however, will be found in all the general histories of P. Daniel, Rapin, Hume, &c. who all agree in the main facts. Rapin says, the Normans lost six, and the English sixteen, thousand men.

Philip

Philip was handsome in his person, mild in his temper, and agreeable in his manners; but addicted to pleasure, and neither fond of war, nor successful in the conduct of it. The consequences of the regent's death, however, required him to make some trial of his military talents in Flanders. A.D. 1066.

Count Baldwin left two sons, Baldwin the eldest, who succeeded him, and Robert. The latter being early furnished with a few ships by his father, became, as was frequent in those times among the younger nobility, a rover by profession. He went to push his fortune wherever success was most likely to attend him; but aimed chiefly to invade the coast of Spain, where the Saracens appeared least formidable, and the country most promising to enrich him by plunder, or secure himself a settlement. He attempted the province of Galicia, where he displayed sufficient bravery, but was overwhelmed by numbers, and escaped with difficulty. Other enterprises of a similar nature having also failed, he directed his ambition to the conquest of Friesland: Count Florent was dead, and the government of the county was under the administration of the dowager countess Gertrude of Saxony. She feared the consequences of a conquest by Robert, and admired his courage. She proposed marriage to him, and her proposals were accepted. His ambition was gratified, and, after many ineffectual struggles, he at last obtained a settlement even superior to his most sanguine expectations. War in Flanders.

This

A. D. 1070.

This excited the envy or jealousy of his brother, to whose territories it was nearly adjacent. Robert entreated Baldwin in vain to allow him to live in peace; but he was forced to defend himself, and in an engagement which ensued, the aggressor was slain. His two sons, Arnulph and Baldwin VII., fled for protection to the court of Philip. The king was not ungrateful to the memory of the regent, but was ambitious to acquire some military fame. He raised an army and marched against Robert, who seems to have changed defensive into offensive war, and now invaded Flanders. The young king was not a match for the experienced and cautious rover; the French army was surprised and cut in pieces, and Arnulph killed. Even then Robert appears moderate in the use of his success. The countess Richilda, with her surviving son Baldwin, distrusting the arms of France, besought the interposition and aid of Germany. Philip, on the other hand, formed an alliance with Robert, and married Gertrude's daughter by a former husband, Florent. Baldwin and his mother were unable to recover Flanders, and retained only the county of Hainaut².

A. D. 1071.

Hildebrand,
pope Gregory VII.

Meantime Hildebrand, who on his accession took the name of Gregory VII. was advanced to the popedom. Originally a Tuscan of mean parentage, he rose gradually from the obscure station of a monk of Clugni, to the rank of archdeacon in the Romish church:

² Fragment. Hist. Franc. Lamb. Shaffnal. de Reb. Germ. P. Daniel.

thence

thence he laboured up the steep ascent with un-^{A. D. 1071.}interrupted ardour, till he reached the summit of ecclesiastical empire. Having attained this eminence, he next studied to aggrandise to the utmost the power which he held; to enlarge the jurisdiction, and to increase the opulence, of the see of Rome; to subject the church universally to the arbitrary authority of the pope; to dissolve the jurisdiction which temporal princes hitherto exercised over the clergy within their own dominions; and to reduce emperors, kings, and princes absolutely under the papal yoke. He seems to have seriously entertained the purpose of establishing at Rome an annual assembly of bishops, by whose advice and judgment the pope was to decide on the rights of princes, and the fate of nations *.

The success which attended these extravagant pretensions is not less amazing, than the ambition which devised them. He excommunicated and dethroned Boleslas, king of Poland, and prohibited the states of that kingdom from electing, without his consent, any other. He commanded Nicephorus, emperor of Constantinople, to abdicate the throne. He demanded, and obtained, an annual tribute from Spain. He could not prevail on William the Conqueror to do homage to him for the crown of England, but he extorted from him the arrears and continuation of the tax called Peter's pence. He constituted Sardinia, Saxony, Dalmatia, and Russia, fiefs of the Holy See. He deposed Henry

* Mosheim, Cent. xi. ch. 2.

A. D. 1071.

IV. emperor of Germany, till he submitted to his dictates. Yet all his pretensions of a civil nature were over-ruled, and resisted in France. The detail of his ecclesiastical encroachments belongs to ecclesiastical history, and shall be reserved for the next chapter; it may only be added, that though it is well known, the eminence and temporal dominion of the pope were derived from France, yet Gregory insisted that France was dependent on, and tributary to, the see of Rome. He ordained his legates yearly to demand a tribute; but that demand was treated with contempt^s.

The indolence of Philip, and the constant occupation of his mind in the love of pleasure, probably contributed to the ease with which he escaped from the Roman tyranny. Gregory's plans were too great to be executed all at once; he might hope therefore to succeed better in France, by having subjugated Germany.

War in
Normandy,
A. D. 1076.

Philip was roused a little from that indolence and pleasure by which he was enslaved, with the hope which others inspired, of recovering Normandy to the crown of France. Höel, duke of Bretany, flattered himself that William of Normandy's distance (he being now in England) would give him more independence and security; and that now was the time for changing the state

^s "Maxime enitere ut beatum Petrum, in cujus potestate est regnum tuum & anima tua, qui te potest in cœlo, et in terra ligare, & absolvere, tibi facias debitorem." Lib. vii. epist. 20. Gregor. ad Philip.

of his county from a fief of Normandy to an immediate fief of the crown of France. In attempting this change he expected the countenance and aid of Philip, whose interest it was, as much as his own, to diminish the territories and influence of the king of England in France, and to drive him, if possible, altogether out of the kingdom. Philip levied a numerous army, raised the siege of Dol, attacked the army of William, which was weakened by its efforts against that city, defeated it, and took all its baggage. The English interest of course declined in that country, but the two kings concluded a peace, without any important change. It was not, however, of long continuance.

When William engaged in the grand enterprise of conquering England, he committed the duchy of Normandy to his eldest son Robert. Flattered by the homage to which he had been accustomed from that time, this young prince, more desirous of power than capable of administering it, and trusting to the support of the French court, presumed to claim and hold the duchy as his right, and summoned his father to grant him formal possession. "It is not my custom," said his father, "to strip myself till I go to bed." Irritated by this reply, and some disrespect supposed by him to be intended against him by his brothers, he left the court and raised an army. The support which his popularity and personal friends obtained for him, rendered the war serious, and of some years' duration. In a rencontre towards the con-

A.D. 1076. clusion of it, however, Robert engaged his father unknown, his face being covered by a visor, and struck him to the ground. Knowing his cry in falling, he raised him with eagerness, threw himself at his feet, and implored his forgiveness. William's resentment was more excited on this occasion, than his generosity. Instead of acknowledging any obligation to his son, he cursed his success, and left him, without any symptom of parental affection. An apparent, not a sincere, reconciliation was afterwards effected. Philip, studying too much what appeared to be the interest of France, inflamed the ambition of the one, and choleric temper of the other. He encouraged the former again to revolt, furnished him with troops, and, by language as well as by his conduct, drew on himself the indignation of the latter. William being fat and big-bellied, and having become infirm and indisposed, was confined to his bed. "How long," said Philip one day in the midst of his courtiers, "will it be, till that pregnant man be delivered?" "Tell him," replied William, to whom the jest was reported, and in allusion to the manner of churching women, "that I shall attend the church of St. Genevieve at Paris, with ten thousand spears, instead of wax candles." He indulged this resentment; entered France, ravaged the country, forced Nantes, and set it on fire. By his immoderate exertions he is said to have brought on a fever. In leaping a ditch too, he struck his breast on the pommel of the saddle, which probably was the immediate cause of his death. He died at Rouen a few

William's
death,

A.D. 1087.

a few days after, in the sixty-third year of his A. D. 1087. age⁶.

Before his death, he had divided his dominions and wealth among his sons. He left Normandy to Robert, and England to William Rufus; besides a great sum of money, he left to Henry all the moveables and territories that belonged to his mother.

Robert, the eldest, was by no means satisfied with his portion. He aspired to the throne of England; and such at that period was the state of the kingdom, that he might have wrested the sceptre from his brother, had he been more speedy in the enterprise. He gave William Rufus time to raise an army to attack him, and afterwards to keep him at bay in Normandy. In this situation, he requested, and obtained, the aid of Philip, whose interest it was to prevent, if possible, the king of England from holding property, or acquiring any interest, in France. Yet Philip was steady in the pursuit of pleasure only: he neglected the true interest of his kingdom, meanly accepted money from the king of England, and abandoned Robert and the Normans⁷.

Philip's ruling passion next involved his own family in trouble. He became dissatisfied with Bertha his queen, though the mother of three

The king
divorces
Bertha.

⁶ Orderic. Vit. lib. iv, v. Roger Hoveden. Gul. Malmesb. lib. iv. Matth. Paris, lib. ii. Gul. Gemet, lib. vii, viii. Fragment. Hist. Franc.

⁷ Gul. Malmesbur. lib. iv.

A.D. 1087. children to him, Lewis his successor, Constance, and Henry; and proposed to divorce her. His ostensible reason was the frequent and common pretext of those times, and the plentiful source of ecclesiastical influence and wealth, that she was within the forbidden degrees of kindred. Genealogists were found capable of being hired to prove it, and bishops base enough to countenance it, and grant the divorce, after a matrimonial union regularly contracted of twenty years. She was dismissed, to languish at Montreuil, where she died.

Thinking himself now legally free, because he had accommodated and perverted the laws to serve his own licentious inclinations, Philip sent, and demanded in marriage, Emma, daughter of count Roger, brother of Robert Guiscard, duke of Sicily. They supposed no obstacle, reckoned it an honourable alliance, and cheerfully consented to the marriage. Every thing suitable being provided, Emma set out for Paris, with an equipage and retinue worthy of her rank and prospects; but, before she arrived, the unstable monarch had dishonourably changed his mind.

Bertrade, daughter of Simon de Montfort, and third wife of Foulques, count of Anjou, a woman of great spirit and beauty, ambition and levity, now engaged his attention. Considering her present husband's age, and that, in marrying him, her youth and beauty had been sacrificed to politics, and that, through the same caprice, she was liable to be abandoned, as his two former wives had been, she gave way to ambition, and hoped,

hoped, by the fame of her beauty and other personal charms, to win the heart of Philip, and become the legal partner of his throne. She was not disappointed; the report of her beauty gained his attention; he encouraged her to elope from her husband; and various difficulties being surmounted, he married her. This was a rash step, and gave general offence. The people murmured, the nobles took up arms, and the clergy complained to the pope. Of these the most zealous was Ives, bishop of Chartres, whom the king endeavoured, both by conciliatory and compulsive means, to gain. He summoned him, as a crown vassal, to attend an interview with the king of England, accompanied with his compliment of soldiers; and on his refusal, he plundered his lands, and cited him before a packed council of the clergy at Rheims, from which Ives appealed to the pope.

A.D. 1087.

Marries
Bertrade.

A.D. 1094.

The pope, who had been informed of all the circumstances by the bishop, and had entered fully into his views, assembled a council at Autun, within the government of the duke of Burgundy, in which he appointed Hugh, archbishop of Lyons, to preside as his legate: at this council, Philip was solemnly excommunicated, until he should relinquish Bertrade. Apprehensive of the consequences which in those times followed excommunication, he professed repentance, and was absolved. But the death of Bertha

Is excom-
municated.

* Ivonis Episcop. Carnot. Epist. Hist. apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 217. Act. Concil. Rhenens. Harduin. tom. vi. A.D. 1094.

A. D. 1094. soon after, gave him reason to think that he was now at liberty, and no longer guilty in adhering to Bertrade. The death of the pope Urban II. relaxed a little the severity of ecclesiastical discipline against him; on which he recalled Bertrade, and solemnly crowned her as his queen.

Paschal II., the successor of Urban, not less ambitious and determined to maintain and promote the papal authority, finding it despised by Philip's refusing and crowning Bertrade of his own accord, ordained a council to be held at Poitiers, in presence of his two legates; and, notwithstanding the violent opposition given by the duke of Guienne and other friends of the king, he was once more laid under the sentence of excommunication.

At last, after much obstinacy on his part, and many conferences on the side of the pope and the clergy, in the year 1105, the king attended the assembly of Paris as a penitent, in the cold month of December, barefoot; and having made such acknowledgments as were proposed to him, he solemnly declared on oath, "That he would from that time separate himself from all sexual intercourse with Bertrade." She took the same oath, "That she would have no more converse of the kind with him." Upon which both were absolved. There is reason however to think, that they still continued, by some connivance or indulgence, to co-habit publicly together?

* Père Daniel, tom. ii. p. 410. Henaut's Abridgment, vol. i. A.D. 1103 - 5.

Meantime

Meantime Lewis, the king's eldest son, whom, A. D. 1105. like many of his predecessors, he had associated Conduct in the government with him, rendered himself and popularity of the prince popular by his agreeable manners and splendid Lewis. military actions. He repressed the turbulent and predatory spirit of the barons in the immediate neighbourhood of Paris, who, issuing from their strong castles, prowled for unwary merchants and travellers, seized them, with their horses and goods, and having brought them within their gates, barred them from all access and inquiry. With a small but brave body of men, Lewis scoured the country, and exhibited so many examples of his valour and success, that he obtained the name of the Battler ¹⁰.

His fame, though but twenty years of age, made him a welcome guest at the court of Henry I. of England, to whom, it is probable from a motive of curiosity only at this time, he paid a visit. The same popularity and fame, however, excited against him the jealousy and hatred of Bertrade. She felt her influence over Philip and the kingdom decline, in proportion as the popularity and power of the prince arose; and it is possible that she might have entertained the hope, that, were Lewis put out of the way, her son should succeed on the death of Philip. His visit to the English court seemed to her a favourable opportunity for securing this point. She wrote, or caused to be written, a letter to the English monarch, which she sealed with the seal of Philip king of France, requesting him,

¹⁰ Suger. Vit. Lud.

A.D. 1105. for valuable considerations proposed, secretly to murder his guest, or at least to shut him up in prison. Henry had been capable, some authors have asserted, of burning out the eyes of his own brother, when moved to it by interest and passion; but, in the present case, when no selfish motive impelled him, and when he reflected calmly on the sacred duties of hospitality, he shuddered at the proposal, and testified the strongest indignation against becoming an assassin, and the mean tool of this ambitious woman. Lewis, having become acquainted with the contents of the letter, left England, waited on his father, threw himself at his feet, and said he had brought him the head of a condemned criminal. Philip, at first, did not apprehend his meaning; but, on explaining himself, assured him that he was totally ignorant of the letter. It was in vain, however, that he attempted to excite any resentment against the culprit. "Grant me," said the prince, "that justice to which I am entitled, or I solemnly swear that I shall do justice to myself." This solicitude for vengeance increased only her caution and hatred. She attempted next to poison him; and he is said to have been saved from its effects by timely and suitable medicine, and by the strength of his constitution. In a few years, without any other remarkable occurrence, he succeeded peaceably to the crown. Philip died at Melun, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, and the fiftieth of his reign, in the year of our Lord eleven hundred and eight. Agreeably to his own request, he was buried in the abbey of St. Benedict on the Loire. William of Malmesbury says,

Death of
Philip I.
A.D. 1108.

says, that he died a Benedictine monk ; which is ^{A. D. 1108.} the more probable, as it was then the custom for persons of the highest rank to assume the habit and profession of some religious order, in token of their penitence and piety, and in the very article of death to be carried to a convent, by way of securing their entrance into Heaven¹¹.

He is reproached for his pusillanimity and indolence, because he did not enter into the spirit of the crusades, which arose and prevailed in Europe during his reign, the detail of which we have deferred to the next reign, when their effects on both Asia and Europe became more certain and prominent. But he was not destitute naturally of either courage or understanding : they were only rendered inactive by his ruling passion, the love of pleasure ; and it is difficult indeed to say, whether that passion, or his political sagacity, contributed most to prevent him from engaging in these extraordinary enterprises. It is certain, that his neglect of them was of great advantage to his kingdom. “ Happy France ! ” exclaims one of the best of her historians, “ if her kings, his posterity, had imitated his conduct, in this respect so prudent, and had not abandoned advantages so certain, for conquests in the east, so uncertain in the acquisition, and so unprofitable in the possession.”

¹¹ Gul. Malmesb. Ordericus Vitalis, lib. x, xi.

SECT. V.

Reign of LEWIS VI. A.D. 1108, to A.D. 1137.

A.D. 1108. **L**EWIS, whom Suger, the abbot of St. Denis, his minister and biographer, has represented as tall and handsome, was associated in the government with his father at nine years of age, and was full twenty-eight years old when his father died. He had already given many proofs both of political wisdom and military courage. He never forgot, like some of his predecessors, the duty, which as a son, and even as a colleague, he owed his father, and never attempted to subvert his influence and authority: on the contrary, his great aim was to employ the common power of the crown to support and strengthen the government. He was sensible, that neither the government nor the country could be secure and prosperous, while the nobles were allowed not only to commit disorders, and exercise violence against one another, but, with licentiousness and cruelty, to issue like robbers from their strong and gloomy castles, to spoil the merchant and the traveller, and to plunder their neighbours. His spirited and successful enterprises against them, naturally excited their jealousy, and combined their resentment. Some of the most turbulent even formed the daring purpose of excluding him from the throne, Eudes, count of Corbeil, one of the most active of

Talents and
temper of
the young
prince.

His activity,
valour,
and prudence.

of the conspirators, said to his countess as he ^{A.D. 1102.} buckled on his armour, "That he now put it
 "on with the hands of a count, but would put
 "it off again with the hands of a king." That
 very day, however, he was killed, and the rest
 were soon after subdued.

The king's revenue at this time consisted chiefly of his own domains, which were included in the duchy of France or Neustria, the city of Paris, and a few other towns; and his own vassals belonging to these domains, formed the principal military power in which he could confide.

But the state of Europe, and spirit of the times, rendered the military force which he possessed, more successful, than it would have been in former reigns. Several of the most powerful lords of the realm, many inferior barons, and a multitude of people of military, active, restless, and turbulent spirits, from every barony and district of the kingdom, had, during the preceding reign, engaged in the first crusade, and actually marched, under such leaders as they preferred, or as chose to enlist them, to rescue Jerusalem and Palestine from the hands of the infidels. ^{The crusades.} The magnitude of the expedition; the great share which the French bore in it, not as a state indeed, but individually as a people; the effects which it produced on that kingdom and on Europe; and the references which must be frequently made to it in the progress of this history, require that we should give some account of its origin, progress, issue, and general effects.

THE

A. D. 1108.

State of
Asia.

Saracens.

THE ancient Arabians were a number of small independent tribes, who inhabited that extensive country which is bounded as a peninsula by the Euphrates, the Persian gulph, the Indian ocean, and the Red Sea. They were called Saracens also, it is probable, from Sara, which signifies a desert, such as that which they inhabited. From the remotest antiquity they were so averse from subordination, that they seemed incapable of any political union. The great impostor, Mahomet, by adopting their various religious opinions, incorporating them into one system, and accommodating his doctrines wholly to the prevalent inclinations of human nature, wonderfully united the tribes of this vast country into one great body, and reduced them, by the influence of superstition, and finally by the power of the sword, under one supreme head. Thus united, and animated with zeal for their new religion, they issued in great multitudes from their ancient deserts, to convert and subdue the world. In a few years they propagated their religion, and extended their empire over Spain and Africa, and over a great part of Asia, as far as the Ganges. Palestine, and of course the holy city of Jerusalem, were early reduced under their power.

But the ardour of their religious zeal diminished; as their dominion extended. They granted a species of toleration to Christianity in Palestine. To visit that country, to worship in Jerusalem, and to present some offering in the holy sepulchre, was reckoned by the Christians one of the highest

highest acts of devotion. Instead of preventing, ^{A. D. 1102.} the Saracens rather encouraged them, on account of a small tax which they received from every pilgrim. The exercise and degree of this toleration, indeed, depended much on the temper of the governors of that district; but the pilgrims were generally unmolested in their pilgrimage and worship.

The Turks, issuing from their distant na-^{Turks.} tive abodes beyond mount Caucasus, invaded Armenia, and, profiting by the civil wars of the Saracens, over-ran, and subdued Persia and Syria. Their more barbarous manners and unsettled government rendered the pilgrimages of the Christians extremely dangerous. The frequent,^{Pilgrims.} and sometimes exaggerated, reports of the cruelties exercised on devout travellers to the holy sepulchre, and of the insults offered even to the most sacred mysteries and monuments of Christianity, filled all Christendom with indignation. This indignation was the more vehement, as the zeal for pilgrimages prevailed. Their number was greatly increased by the opinion entertained almost universally at the close of the tenth century, that the end of the world was at hand. Men every where deserted their property, their ordinary pursuits, and their nearest kindred, and believed that their safety and true interest consisted in hastening to the Holy Land, where they expected Jesus Christ to appear, and the general judgment to take place.

Among the other enterprising schemes of ^{Gregory VII.} Gregory VII., he brought almost to maturity the vast

A.D. 1108. vast design, which some of his predecessors had also conceived, of confederating the western princes of Europe against the Turks. He was assured of an army of fifty thousand men; and would himself have marched at their head; but the same active temper that qualified him for such an enterprise, involved him in those quarrels with Henry IV. king of Germany, and other sovereign princes, which prevented him from accomplishing his purpose. The execution of that project, at once foolish and magnificent, was reserved for Urban II., or rather for a meaner instrument, Peter the Hermit.

Peter the
Hermit.

This man, on a pilgrimage which he made to Jerusalem, was deeply affected with the extreme oppression and misery of the Christians in Palestine. On his return, he brought letters from the patriarch of Jerusalem to the pope, which he enforced with much eloquence and zeal. He conjured him to remember the sacred nature of those places in which the Saviour of mankind was born, and had died; and to consider the importance of protecting, from the contempt and savage cruelty of barbarous infidels, those precious persons who resorted thither for the purposes of devotion. The pope entered warmly into the views of this pilgrim, and was ambitious of accomplishing what had been only proposed by his predecessors.

Peter was a native of Amiens in France; a man of small stature, and mean appearance. Under that contemptible figure, however, the pope discerned an ingenious mind, an insinuating address,

addresses, and a natural talent for eloquence. He ^{A. D. 1108.} judged him the most fit person to be sent to the several courts of Europe, to represent the deplorable state of Palestine, to communicate the views and fervent wishes of the pope, and to urge princes and people every where to enlist in the service of the Christian religion, and march without delay against the infidels.

The mean, pilgrim-like appearance of the man, which on any other occasion would have proved unfavourable; his indefatigable activity and zeal; the strict sanctity of his life, and the earnestness with which he spoke of the subject of his mission; affected and interested his hearers. All were persuaded; princes, clergy, nobles, and people, all applauded the pious and great design, and shewed an eagerness, and even impatience, to embark in so important an enterprise.

Delighted with the news of his success, the pope now announced himself as the patron and head of the sacred expedition. He assembled a great council at Placentia, which was attended by four thousand clergy and thirty thousand laymen, from France, Germany, and Italy'. Ambassadors from Constantinople were opportunely introduced, to represent the danger, to which not only that empire, but Europe, would be exposed, if effectual means were not soon employed to resist and repel the too successful and ambitious infidels. The pope himself de-

Council of
Placentia,
A. D. 1095.

¹ Acta Concilior. A. D. 1095.

A.D. 1108. scribed in glowing colours the wretched state of the church in Asia, and the necessity of an immediate confederacy of the Christian powers for the protection of their common religious interest. The multitude resolved with enthusiasm to engage in this cause; the more deliberate, however, amounting to a considerable number, expressed doubts and fears: no positive step was taken; another council only was summoned to meet at Clermont in Auvergne; and in the mean time, measures were taken to rouse and interest military men in this design.

Council of
Clermont,
A.D. 1095.

The council met at Clermont in the end of November, A.D. 1095. The numbers who attended were so great, that it was generally held in the open fields. Pope Urban's speech, in which he addressed the people on the subject of the crusade, is given variously by different historians²; but it appears to have been in substance as follows: "That it was impossible, without tears, to speak of the miseries of the Christians in the East. That they were driven from the enjoyment of their property, their religious privileges, and their domestic comforts, and reduced to beggary, or bondage. That the place in which the blood of Jesus Christ was shed for man, was polluted by the most infamous and detestable crimes. That some were now present in the assembly, who as pilgrims had witnessed the cruelty and insults

² Roberti Monach. Hist. Baldrici Archiep. Hist. Fulcherii Carnotensis Gest. Guiberti Abbatis Hist. Willermie Tyrensis Archiep. Hist. Acta Concil. Claramont.

“ of the barbarians. That Christians were ^{A. D. 1108.}
“ bound to spend their lives and fortunes in
“ rescuing from such a state the monuments of
“ their holy religion, and a land which ought
“ to be interesting to Christendom. Go then,”
he added, “ unite under the standard of Jesus
“ Christ; for him it will be your glory to die,
“ fighting under the walls of that city in fight
“ of which he died for you. Fear not the ac-
“ cidents and dangers which may attend your
“ march or voyage thither. Jesus, whom you
“ serve, if you trust in him, will protect you.
“ If you succeed, you shall be enriched with the
“ spoil of the enemies of God; if you die, you
“ shall receive a crown of glory, which fadeth
“ not away. Go then, repeat at home what
“ you have heard here: inspire the people every
“ where with the noble ambition of fighting for
“ the cross of Christ, and of conquering Jeru-
“ salem from his enemies.”

The declamation interspersed in this speech, and the gestures and pathos with which it was delivered, produced a wonderful effect. The whole assembly were moved, and shouted as with one voice, “ It is the will of God, it is the will of God!” which words made such an impression on the minds of the people, and were generally deemed of such import, that they were inscribed on the military standards; and on meeting with the enemy, were pronounced by the army as the animating signal of engagement.

A. D. 1108.

To remove all obstacles, and to afford every encouragement to volunteers in this warfare, the council farther decreed, that during the expedition no one should invade or injure the property of those engaged in it, on pain of certain excommunication. That to enlist in this service, should be held a full compensation for all past offences, in room of every other penance : and that no person engaged in it should be liable to be prosecuted for debt ; or be subject to any tax, or other imposition.

Multitude
of crusad-
ers.

Induced by these and various other motives, the multitude flocked from every quarter to enlist under the consecrated banner. Monks quitted their cells, debtors their prison, husbands forsook their wives, parents deserted their children, and children their aged parents : animated by religious zeal ; by the love of military glory ; by novelty, licentiousness, levity, and other mixed passions ; bishops, abbots, princes, dukes, counts, barons, merchants, tradesmen, labourers, old men, women and children, pressed forward to be enrolled in the sacred list of warriors. They are said to have amounted in number to six millions³.

The names of the principal French leaders, beside Peter the Hermit, Walter the Pennyless, and several bishops and abbots, were Hugh the Great, brother of Philip king of France ; Raymond, count of Provence or Thoulouse ; Godfrey of

³ Fulcherii Carnotens. Gesta Peregrin. Francor.

Bouillon,

Bouillon, duke of Lorraine; Robert, count of ^{A.D. 1108.} Normandy, son of William king of England; Stephen, count of Blois; Robert, count of Flanders; and many other nobles and inferior gentlemen, whose names are distinguished by the historians of the crusade. This zeal, however, was by no means confined to France: all Europe, says the princess Anna Comnena, seemed ready to precipitate itself upon Asia.

The harvest and vintage of the year 1096 were very abundant⁴, which rendered the march of those crowds of people, for they could not be called armies, who set out in different bodies, and at different periods, from the month of March to the following November, more easy and successful than otherwise they had reason to expect; for they had not made sufficient provision for their journey. They believed that every thing they wanted, would be found miraculously ready, and accommodated to every exigency.

In the first place, Walter Senesevir, or the Pennylefs, a poor man, but of noble rank and great military experience, led his motley multitude with much difficulty through Hungary to Constantinople, where he halted till the other bodies arrived. Next followed, Peter the Hermit, with his fanatics. Many, however, on experiencing unexpected hardships, returned; several died for want of provisions, and others were murdered by the people of Hungary and Bul-

⁴ Fulgherii Carnotens. Gesta Peregrin. Francor.

A. D. 1108. **garia**, through whose country they passed, in consequence of their want of discipline and ungovernable licentiousness.

The nobles, as Hugh count of Vermandois, Raymond count of Thoulouse, &c. were, with reason, afraid to accompany these multitudes, or even to follow the same route with them. They went from Italy by sea. They found the emperor of Constantinople already impatient to be rid of those armies, which he had so anxiously solicited. Most willingly he assisted to transport them over the Streights; and of the immense body which left Europe, seven hundred thousand only were mustered in the plains of Asia⁵.

Disasters. One disaster after another still followed this unwarlike multitude. Unrestrained by discipline, impetuous, unreasonably confident of success, and of supernatural direction and aid, they incautiously exposed themselves to the enemy. The advantages which they ultimately gained, cost them many lives. Defeats excited a spirit of revenge, and rendered them outrageous. The enemy began to despise them, forced their camp, and put all of them who were capable of resistance to the sword.

Successes. It was no disadvantage, on the whole, to the third body, who had more recently arrived, under better discipline, and under such experienced military leaders as were already mentioned, the counts of Thoulouse, of Normandy,

⁵ Math. Paris.

Flanders,

Flanders, &c. that the ungovernable rabble were cut off. They were, on that account, the less exposed to mutiny and disorder, and were more easily maintained and conducted. They found the enemy, who were intoxicated with their successes hitherto, an easy conquest, proving to them the difference betwixt trained troops and an undisciplined multitude. The two armies of the Solymans, the father and son, were defeated by the Christians; and Nice and Antioch, after a siege of some length, fell into their hands. A. D. 1108

The way to Jerusalem, the great object of the expedition, was now open. They took possession, as they advanced, of Ptolemais, Lydda, Rama, or Arimathea, and Emmaus, or Nicopolis; at last, they finally laid siege to Jerusalem, which was inferior in size to Antioch, but more strongly fortified. Thirty thousand soldiers, besides twenty thousand men capable of bearing arms, defended it. By disease, desertion, and war, and by the garrisons which they placed in Antioch and the other cities, the Christian army was now reduced to about twenty-two thousand effective men; but valour supplied their want of numbers. After a siege of five weeks, the city was taken; and, with regret, we record the subsequent part of their conduct. They gave no quarter to the enemy, but coolly butchered them, because they were infidels; then assuming the habit and manner of pilgrims, they walked barefoot in solemn procession to the holy sepulchre, prostrating themselves before it, and watering it with their tears. Ignorant and zealous, blinded by superstition and animated by military rage, they

Conquest of
Jerusalem.

A. D. 1108. they believed that in both they were doing God service; and hoped the more for mercy and pardon, that they had indiscriminately massacred their fellow-creatures, as infidels.

Eight days after, the leaders of the army assembled to elect a king of Jerusalem, and to re-establish the kingdom of Judea. Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine, whose noble appearance, courage, prudence, military skill, and pious reputation, distinguished him as most worthy of their choice, accepted the government from them; but refused the name of king of that city in which the Saviour had suffered.

In a few days after, he signified his administration by the defeat of the army of the sultan of Egypt, which was said to consist of four hundred thousand men, who were marching to recover Jerusalem. He lived only one year afterwards, and was succeeded by his brother Baldwin, who readily assumed both the crown and title of king.

Effects of
the crusades
on France.

Thus terminated an expedition, which originated in human compassion and religious zeal, but which was promoted and conducted by enthusiasm and folly. It drained from Europe, a great portion of its population. It put in motion immense sums of money, and exported a considerable part of it to Asia. It produced a general change on the state of property, and weakened not a little the influence of the aristocracy in France. Many noble and opulent families were ruined by it. Some sold, others mortgaged their estates, to defray their expences; for,

for, on that occasion, they were allowed to alienate their lands without the consent of the superior. Some persuaded their vassals to accompany them; others levied from them intolerable impositions, which impoverished them and totally changed their condition, if they remained; or rendered it necessary for them to enlist themselves under the holy banner. Bankers, jews, and cities, were pillaged, or forced to purchase, what afterwards became valuable immunities and advantages. Thus every one, from a profession of humanity and religion, oppressed another; and, from a desire of revenging the sufferings of the Christians in Asia, Europe became a scene of suffering and tumult. It seemed the concluding paroxysm of those barbarous and feudal disorders, which from that time began to take a more favourable turn.

A. D. 1108.

The ecclesiastical, as well as the civil interests of men, were affected by this expedition. Many altogether relinquishing the property which they thought could be of no more service to them, conveyed and disposed it to the church. For this they expected, in return, a blessing on their pilgrimage and warfare; and by such donations the patrimony of the church was much augmented.

Ecclesiastical effects;

The increase of their revenues increased the disposition of the clergy to luxury and licentiousness; in which they indulged the more, that they were freed from the restraint imposed on them by the authority and example of many of the most

A. D. 1108. most respectable ecclesiastics of all ranks, who accompanied the crusaders to Asia.

The extent and influence of superstition were much augmented by the addition of many new saints, and by an incredible quantity of relics which had been imported into Europe as the noblest spoils.

The plenary indulgence granted to all who embarked in this warfare, not only encouraged licentiousness and vice, but increased the practice of commuting penances, which attained to such a height before the reformation, and of obtaining easy indulgences for the greatest immoralities.

To many of these immediate evils, however, may be traced the reformation of the church, and the civilization of the state; the revival of literature, and the general improvement of society and manners. These advantages can only be suggested at present: they will appear at full length hereafter, as they shall be unfolded in the progress of the history.

moral ef-
fects;

Men who constantly reside at home, or who never pass beyond the limits of a narrow district, naturally contract domestic and local prejudices and obstinate attachments, which reason, instead of dispelling and conquering, contributes, through perversion, rather to approve and confirm. The farmer continues the same perpetual round of neglect and indolence, of unavailing and wasteful drudgery. The artist has no idea of introducing

introducing variety and improvement into any branch of a profession. Learning itself stagnates, and even men of genius venture on no effort to overstep the limits, or to break the fetters, of the system, which they received from the preceding generation. Religion sinks under the oppression of prevailing customs and manners; and the superstitious dare not indulge a thought, which is not consistent with the maxims and canons of the established authority. A. D. 1108.

Many of the crusaders who had travelled through foreign countries, some of them as far as Constantinople, came back, from a want of courage, or of other means of proceeding to Jerusalem. Others returned, after the conquest of that city. Every one, on his return home, though it were but from Italy into France, felt a wonderful change on his mind. New scenes, objects, and intercourses enlarged his views, and filled him with an amazing increase of ideas, of means of association and comparison. Fields, fences, buildings, customs, dress, and manners, appeared in a new light. Improvements were suggested; prejudice and the authority of custom lost somewhat of their influence. The love of novelty and vanity attempted, however rudely at first, to imitate what they had admired abroad in the more cultivated and civilized countries of Italy and Greece. Genius and invention acquired force and activity. The example of the traveller, especially if successful, induced the more homely clown to adopt the innovation, and so gradually to change the face and manners of the country. From Italy, Constantinople, and the

A.D. 1108. the other countries and towns in which the arts were more advanced, a taste was introduced and diffused, by the returned crusaders, over France, for manufactures, for elegant arts, for the sciences, and for greater courtesy and gentleness of manners. Superstition itself relaxed its power over many, whose active and various life abroad occasioned reflection, and freedom from the constant presence and control of domineering ecclesiastics. Thus, from the east, though then held as the abode of darkness and despotism, the first rays of light and liberty arose, as the morning twilight, over Europe.

political
effects ;

The expence which attended the expedition, and the general relinquishment of property in order to engage in it, affected not individuals only, but produced a considerable change on the political state of France. Many estates and territories, by purchase, by reversion, and by defect of heirs, were recovered to the crown. Some of the most turbulent barons, who were perpetually contending in private war against one another, or were ever disposed to join in any insurrection against the government, found an opportunity abroad of spending their martial ardour. Both men and money were wanting, to encourage those who remained at home, and still retained the disposition to restlessness and rebellion. Hostilities were also restrained by the canons of the church, which threatened the severest censures and pains against any who should disquiet or injure the property or relations of the absent sacred warriors. The spirit of war was thus in a great measure suspended at home ;
and

and other habits were gradually assumed. Commerce and general intercourse revived. Justice was more attentively studied, and more equally dispensed; while authority and order began to prevail more steadily in the political government. A.D. 1108.

It may be added, that there were other expeditions of the same kind, though inferior in number :

One conducted by Conrad III. and Lewis VII.,
A.D. 1144.

One by the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, A.D. 1188, in which Philip Augustus king of France, and Richard king of England, had a considerable share.

One by the emperor Henry VI. A.D. 1195.

One under the conduct of Simon de Montfort,
A.D. 1198.

One by Richard earl of Cornwall, A.D. 1240.

One by St. Lewis, A.D. 1249, and A.D. 1270.

The crusaders might have succeeded in their design of conquering Syria from the infidels, if the emperors of Constantinople had not thwarted and betrayed them; had they remained neutral, but especially had they co-operated with them and assisted them, the Turks would have been subdued, and Constantinople not have submitted to the laws of Mahomet.

The great obstacle, however, to the success of the crusaders, was their own jealousies and dissensions. Animated by ambition and avarice,

A.D. 1108. each dreaded the other's success, more than the common enemy. Such opposition of interests, like diversity of tongues, produced confusion, distraction, and ruin.

on Eng-
land;

Robert duke of Normandy, on his return from the first crusade, resided about a year in Italy; where he married the daughter of count Conversana, and indulged himself in ease and pleasure. Meantime his brother Rufus king of England died, and Henry his younger brother usurped the throne. Henry surpassed all the princes of his time in natural talents and political sagacity; he courted the clergy, by renouncing some of the claims of his predecessors on the church; he enacted several laws in favour of the nobles and inferior barons; and he rendered himself generally popular by an insinuating address, and by an universal attention and respect to the condition and interests of the people.

His elder brother, Robert, was brave, and far from being destitute of other talents; but he was imprudent. Impelled by religious and military zeal, he had sold his duchy of Normandy to his brother William Rufus, then king of England, for ten thousand marks*. This property, so alienated, ought to have naturally reverted to him, with the crown of England, at his brother's death. On his return, he took possession of the duchy with little opposition, and made formidable preparations for seizing the crown of England. But at the moment

* W. Malmesb.


when

when fortune seemed the most favourable, when ^{A. D. 1108.} the two armies lay opposed to each other, and Henry dreaded the issue of a battle, negotiation was employed, and Robert, for a pen- ^{A. D. 1102.} sion of three thousand marks, which he was afterwards obliged to relinquish, resigned his pretensions to the throne of England.

Henry was not ignorant of his brother's va- ^{on Nor-} lour, but he observed also, and took advantage, ^{mandy;} of his indolence. He invaded Normandy; and, after a series of successes, provoked Robert at last to hazard a general engagement, in which the latter was totally defeated, and taken, with ten thousand prisoners. All Normandy, in consequence of this victory, submitted to Henry, ^{A. D. 1106.} and was again annexed to the English crown⁷.

The power and military spirit of Normandy and Bretany were such, that, even as a duchy holding of France only, it was turbulent and formidable. From its connection with England, it was more distracted, by the unavoidable attachments of the nobles, some to the one monarch, and some to the other. But there is no doubt, that when they chose to rebel against their French sovereign, the accession of force which they could derive from England gave them consequence, and kept the kingdom of France in awe. The French nobles were se-

⁷ M. Paris. Orderic. Vitalis. He wrote thirteen books of Ecclesiastical History, from the nativity of Christ, to A. D. 1142. He was born in England A. D. 1075, but was educated and spent his life in the monastery of St. Evron in Normandy.

A.D. 1108. cretly not displeased with this. They were gratified, on the whole, with the humiliation of their king, and with whatever prevented him from correcting and restraining them, and allowed them uncontrolled to indulge their private animosities and wars, and to devise and execute plans for their own aggrandisement.

Meantime, William son of Robert, then about fifteen years of age, having escaped from the sufferings inflicted by his uncle on his father's family, wandered over the different courts of Europe, representing the hardships to which he and his father's house were subjected, and imploring the protection and aid of the generous and valiant. Lewis patronised him. It seemed his interest to promote the dissensions which subsisted between England and Normandy. The counts of Anjou and Flanders, and many of the Norman lords, engaged to support the young prince against his uncle. The count of Anjou acceded to the confederacy, on condition that he was re-invested with the office of grand seneschal, steward or master of the palace, which had been held by his family since the reign of Robert²: and he consented, that William de Garlande, to whose family it had been transferred, should discharge the duties of it, subordinate to him, or as his vassal; a practice which then became frequent, and continued afterwards to be common in all the offices of the household and government. The king, thus supported, dispatched a messenger to England, to demand of Henry the

² Hugonis de Clerico apud Duchesne, vol. iv. p. 328.

liberation of his brother Robert. The demand A. D. 1108. being rejected, the Normans engaged in the confederacy, took up arms, and proclaimed Wil- A. D. 1118. liam duke of Normandy.

Henry, who came over on this occasion into Normandy, was joined by the count of Champagne, and Alain III. duke of Bretany. They resolved to meet the enemy, who had been already weakened by the departure of the count of Anjou, whom they persuaded to withdraw from the confederacy, and by the death of the count of Flanders, in consequence of a wound in battle. The two armies engaged in the plain of Brenneville, near the castle of Noyon, in the Vexin. The French king had succeeded in the defeat of the first line of the enemy; but his men, not aware, or regardless of the second line, which was advancing at a distance, indulged themselves, as if the battle had been ended, in pursuit of plunder. Disordered, therefore, as they were, as soon as the second line in good order came up, they fled, and left the field A. D. 1119. easy, and comparatively a bloodless, conquest.

By the mediation of Guy, archbishop of Vienne, recently become pope Calixtus II., a negotiation took place, which issued in the agreement of Henry to acknowledge Lewis his liege lord for Normandy; and the young prince William remained as formerly, without patrimony, patronised only by Lewis, and much esteemed in the court of France.

9 Orderic. lib. 1.—xxii. Suger, in Vit. Lud.

A. D. 1119.

The prince
of England
and his suite
drowned.

Nov. 25,
1120.

Henry's enjoyment of this peace was soon damped by the most afflicting calamity in his family. He had not only succeeded in extinguishing the Norman rebellion, but in obtaining from the nobility a renewal of their oaths of fealty to him and his son, whom he had brought over to Normandy for that purpose. Many of the Norman barons were invited to accompany them on their return to England. The king, attended by the elder nobles, sailed from Barfleur, and arrived in safety; but the prince, with his natural sister, the countess of Perche, a natural brother, and the younger nobility, being detained a short time, many of the sailors became intoxicated. The ship carrying all her sails, and even plied besides with oars, running at a great rate, struck with violence on a rock. The prince, and some of his attendants, who were of superior rank, having got into the boat, cleared the ship, when the shrieks of his sister, the countess, recalled him, to save her life. As soon as the boat, already full, returned, all, without distinction, crowded into it, and sunk it. Of about three hundred sailors and passengers, one only, Bertoud, a butcher of Rouen, a strong man, was saved, by climbing to the very top of the mast, which kept him above water till he was rescued by some fishermen next morning. Henry waited three days with extreme impatience for their arrival; and when he was at last assured of their fate, he fainted away, and never recovered his former cheerfulness.

Is followed
by political
disquietude.

Besides the shock which this event gave to his natural feelings, it excited great political disquietude

quietude concerning his successor. His only surviving daughter Matilda, married to the emperor Henry V., had no issue; and it was not by any means agreeable to the temper of either the English or Normans, to submit to so distant a superior power. His marriage with Adelaide, daughter of Godfrey count of Lorrain, was unfruitful. Of all these circumstances, William ^{A. D. 1120.} his nephew took advantage; preferred again his claim to Normandy, and was encouraged and aided by Lewis the king, by the counts of Anjou, of Monfort, and Evreux, and by many of the Norman nobility. The war became general. The emperor, espousing the interest of his father-in-law, raised a great army to invade France, on the quarter of the Rhine and Meuse. Never since the days of Charlemagne, was a resentment so generally diffused over France. The nobility, who distinguished betwixt the enemies of the reigning prince and of the nation, would seldom unite in any number, or to any extent, against one another; nor even against the king of England, who, as duke of Normandy, seemed of the same class, rank, and interest with themselves; but on the emperor, whom they considered altogether as a foreigner, threatening to enter France, the feudal gave way to the national spirit: two hundred thousand men were ready to have opposed and chastised him. He admired and feared this unusual concord and promptitude, and retired. On the fear of a stranger being removed, the union of the French nobles dissolved. The emperor died. The empress Matilda was given in marriage to Geoffrey, surnamed Plantagenet, the count of Anjou's eldest son,

A. D. 1127. which of course detached him from the French, and added him to the English alliance. On the death of the earl of Flanders, on the other hand, Lewis put the prince William in possession of that county, which he claimed by his grandmother, and other circumstances seemed favourable to his conquest of Normandy; but, in a skirmish with the landgrave of Alsace, his competitor for Flanders, he received a wound, which A. D. 1128. occasioned his death, and put an end to the war¹⁰.

The king
associates
his son with
him.

To secure the hereditary succession of the crown undisturbed in his family, and to maintain the peace of the kingdom, after the example of many of his predecessors, Lewis associated his eldest son, Philip, with him in the government. That prince enjoyed his elevation only two years. His horse rearing, he fell backwards, and was killed. A. D. 1131. Lewis, the next eldest, about twelve years of age, was consecrated his successor by pope Innocent, who was entertained on that occasion with great magnificence at Paris.

Before the death of Honorius II. was generally known, Innocent II. was elected pope by the cardinals who favoured him. The excluded cardinals in resentment arraigned the conduct of the electors, denied the legality of the election, and chose the cardinal Peter, who assumed the name of Anaclet. Rome was divided into two great factions, of which Anaclet's was the most

¹⁰ Suger, in Vita Lud. Grofii. Gulielm. Malmesb.

powerful.

powerful. Innocent was excommunicated, and fled to France, which was the frequent refuge of persecuted popes. ^{A. D. 1137.}

William IX., duke of Guienne, alone, of all the nobles of France, opposed him, and that only for a season. Innocent was acknowledged pope, not only in France, but in England, Spain, and Germany. The death of Anaclet, A. D. 1138, terminated the contest, which had continued about eight years, and left Innocent in the entire and undisputed possession of the papal chair¹¹.

Lewis had not the satisfaction of seeing the completion of that event. His strength was reduced a year before by a severe flux, and he never recovered his former vigour. He spent the close of his life chiefly in exercises of devotion. He had the satisfaction, before his death, to see his son Lewis married to Eleanora, daughter of William duke of Guienne, by which that extensive and powerful duchy, with its other valuable territories, was annexed to the crown. He died in the month of August, A. D. 1137, about the sixtieth year of his age. He was tall and corpulent, but of a pale complexion. Orderic Vitalis says, he was eloquent; and, as a proof and example of this, has recorded his speech in the great council of Rheims, A. D. 1109¹².

The political sagacity of this prince observed the advantages which the crown might derive,

¹¹ Suger, in Vit. Lud. Gulielm. Malmesb.

¹² Acta Concilior. tom. vi. pars ii. p. 1987.

A.D. 1137. by uniting and exalting the common people, who were assembled in towns and villages, against the nobles. He began to incorporate them, and gave them collectively a power and a dignity which rivalled those of the most considerable barons. They gradually acquired an influence in the state, which was afterwards carried to a greater height, when they were invited and authorised to send their deputies to sit and deliberate with the clergy and nobles in the meetings of the States General, under the reign of Philip the Fair.

SECT. VI.

Reign of LEWIS VII.

State of
Europe.

THE extensive peninsula of Spain was divided into several independent kingdoms, of which Castille and Leon, the chief, were governed by Alphonso VII., whom the Spanish Christian princes honoured with the title of Emperor. Their own local contentions, and common zeal against the Moors, who were now almost confined within the limits of Grenada, prevented them from taking an interest in the affairs of the neighbouring states of Europe*.

Germany was subject to all the distractions and inconveniences arising from the interruption of the hereditary line of succession to the crown,

* Mariana.

and

and from the nature of a general military election. On the death of Henry V. without issue, A.D. 1137.
 sixty thousand men in arms, besides the unarmed multitude, assembled at Mentz, to oppose the claim of his nephew Frederic, which was formed on hereditary right, and to exalt to the German and imperial throne the object of their free and independent choice. The archbishops of Mentz and Cologne, and a great majority of the other princes and nobles of the empire, elected Lothaire duke of Saxony, and afterwards solemnly crowned him at Aix-la-Chapelle².

England was no less agitated by a similar cause. Henry I., towards the close of his life, had taken every precaution to secure the succession to Matilda, his only surviving legitimate child, and her heirs. He believed that he was promoting this end, by conferring very great wealth, power, and honours on his nephew, Stephen earl of Boulogne. Stephen, however, though bound to fulfil his will by gratitude and the most solemn oaths, converted his uncle's munificence, on his death, into the means of usurping the rights of his cousin Matilda, and of seizing her throne and kingdom. By his attempt to maintain the usurpation, and her endeavours to eject him and settle the crown on herself and her son Henry, the country was embroiled in civil wars.

The calamities of these states, however, contributed to the peace and prosperity of France. Qualities of
Lewis VII.

² *Gesta Ludov. VII. Annales de l'Empire.*

A.D. 1137. Lewis, who had been consecrated, and crowned by the pope, six years before his father's death, now quietly ascended the throne, at the age of eighteen. His talents were moderate: he was not destitute of wisdom or courage, but wanted perseverance. He engaged with keenness in an enterprise which he afterwards coolly abandoned. Of this, the first memorable occurrence in his reign, is an instance.

Archbishop
of Bourges.

On the death of Alberic, Peter de la Chestre was chosen archbishop of Bourges. The election was made, without any acknowledgment of the king. Lewis, extremely offended, swore that Peter de la Chestre should never be archbishop of Bourges, and ordered the canons to elect another in his room. Peter appealed to the pope, and went himself to Rome to justify his election, which Innocent II. not only approved but confirmed; and having consecrated him with his own hands, sent him back to take possession of his archiepiscopal see, saying, with some insolence, "That young prince requires restraint, and must not be permitted to interfere with church-affairs."

Peter finding the gates of Bourges shut against him, retired to the territory, and under the protection, of Theobald count of Champagne, who was otherwise obnoxious to the king. Thither Lewis followed him with fire and sword, took and pillaged Vitri, and burnt; and buried in the ruins of a church there, thirteen hundred people, who had taken refuge in it. St. Barnard, abbot of Clairvaux, whose popularity was then very great,

great, and whom the king respected and feared, A. D. 1137.
 took this opportunity of moving his sensibility
 of temper. He represented in strong colours
 the cruelty which he had committed. "Still-
 mulated," says he, "by a diabolical spirit,
 you have desolated the country with fire and
 slaughter. The cries of the poor, the groan-
 ings of the prisoner, and the blood of the
 slain, have risen up against you, before God,
 the father of the fatherless, and the judge of
 the widows."

The heart of Lewis relented. He acknow-
 ledged his rashness and guilt; and, in token of
 his penitence, and in expiation of his crimes, he
 resolved not only to make peace with Theobald,
 and acknowledge Peter archbishop of Bourges,
 but to take the cross, raise an army, and march
 in person to the Holy Land⁴.

Forty years had elapsed since the first crusade. Crusade by
Lewis.
 During that time there had been five Christian
 kings of Jerusalem, who waged continual war
 with the Turks. By their success and conquests
 they had formed four considerable states: the
 county of Edessa towards the Euphrates, the
 county of Tripoli, the principality of Antioch
 along the Phenicean sea, and the kingdom of
 Jerusalem.

Joscelen of Courtenay was count of Edessa:
 Raymond of Poitiers, uncle of the queen of

³ S. Bernardi Abb. Clarelval. Epist. vi. apud Duchesne,
 tom. iv.

⁴ Veterum Script. Frag. apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 443.
 France,

A. D. 1137. France, was prince of Antioch: Raymond was count of Tripoli; and Baldwin III. was king of Jerusalem,

Had these princes cordially united their forces with the reinforcements which they received from Europe, they might have not only maintained, but extended, their conquests. The sultan of Aleppo and Mosul observed their discord, and taking advantage of it, besieged and took Edeffa, and would have subdued the whole country had he not been arrested by death. His successors, no less active and successful, threatened to conquer Palestine, and to expel the Christians,

Ambassadors were dispatched to Europe to represent their deplorable condition, and to request immediate succour against the common enemy of the Christian Faith. The king of Jerusalem and the prince of Antioch were natives of France: the latter was also the uncle of the reigning queen. They seemed to have a peculiar claim on the aid of that kingdom, and therefore directed the embassy chiefly to Lewis.

He was already disposed and preparing for such an enterprize. St. Bernard and the pope encouraged and urged him. Councils, as at the commencement of the former crusade, were held at Bourges A. D. 1145, and at Vezelay A. D. 1146³. In the latter place, the multitude was again so great, that the parliament, as it is called,

³ The Acta Concil. of Harduin place these councils a year earlier than William of Tyre and the Abbé Suger do.
convened

convened in the open fields. There St. Ber- A. D. 1145.
nard, who was a warm tempered, but eloquent
man, harangued them. He represented the
Christians in Palestine, as "beyond measure
"afflicted and oppressed; their cities conquered,
"their persons enslaved: many of them shut up
"in dungeons, loaded with fetters, starved,
"emaciated, exhausted. Hence he called on
"his hearers to pity their Christian brethren,
"for whom Jesus Christ died; to arm, and fly
"to their aid, and rescue them from the cruel
"hands of the unfaithful; promising and as-
"suring them of success, and an eternal recom-
"pence."

His eloquence was not in vain. The people
were inflamed with zeal; they vowed to take
arms, and march; they solicited the sacred
badge, a piece of red or other coloured cloth,
which they pinned on their shoulder; and the
stock of these, which the preacher had brought
with him, being soon spent, he tore his garments
to supply the demand. Lewis king of France
offered to conduct the multitude. After due
preparation he actually marched, with seventy
thousand men well armed, besides an innu-
merable body of cavalry. The same preacher
was also attended with similar success in Ger-
many; and Conrad III., the emperor, marched
with seventy thousand well-armed cavalry, besides
infantry, to the same holy war⁶.

⁶ "Virorum fortium lorice utentium numerus ad sep-
tuaginta millia." Willermi Tyrensis, lib. xvi. c. 19.
Gesta Ludovici Septimi, c. 5.

A. D. 1146. William count of Nevers, and the Abbé Suger, were chosen by the assembly at Estampes, joint regents of France, during the king's absence. The count declined the honour, anxiety, and labour of this great trust, and the abbé was prevailed on to undertake the regency alone. No man was better qualified for so high and important an office. He was a mean looking man, and of low extraction; but he possessed sound judgment, and was capable of great industry: every one confided in his integrity. The pope Eugenius respected him so much, as to refer to his decision all matters of difference or dispute which came from France to the papal tribunal. His superior genius and learning appeared more eminent, by his graceful eloquence, and the facility and elegance of his style in writing. All these other qualities were adorned with a prudence, frankness, and modesty, which prevented the risings of envy, and totally disarmed jealousy⁷. These observations on his character are abundantly confirmed by the wisdom and virtue of his administration, during the regency with which he was honoured and entrusted.

The Abbé
Suger re-
gent.

To secure as far as possible the tranquillity of the kingdom during the king's absence, the pope declared it to be under his protection, and threatened with excommunication any one who,

7 "Vir magni consilii & industriæ, ac in omni domo-regia
"spectabilis, & probatæ fidei;--acumen ingenii, linguæ nitor,
"literarum scientia, dictandi scribendique peritia, semper in
"eo splendent; tantæque opinionis." Apud Papam Eu-
genium, &c. &c. Fragment. apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 280.
during

during that period, should attempt any measure ^{A. D. 1147.} to disturb the peace of France.

These precautions being taken, and every thing ready, Lewis, at the head of his army, set out for the Holy Land in March, A. D. 1147; and the emperor Conrad began his march about the same time, by another route, in the month of May.

Manuel Cōmnenus, who was then only twenty-five years of age, but endowed with superior qualities of mind, was at that time emperor of Constantinople. Acquainted with the history, and warned by the conduct, of the former crusaders, he was jealous of the designs, and dreaded the disorders and force of these new armies. He entertained them hospitably till they passed the Straits, when he is said to have furnished the Germans with false guides, by whose direction they were so entangled, starved, and exhausted, as to become an easy conquest to a prepared and active enemy. Scarcely a tenth of them escaped; and the emperor himself being wounded, with extreme difficulty arrived at Nice.

Nor was the French army more successful. In marching from Ephesus to Laodicea, they first encountered the enemy on the banks of the Meander, which they crossed, without any material loss; but after they left Laodicea, their rear was attacked in ascending through the defiles of a steep mountain, and great numbers were killed: the king being separated from his
men,

A.D. 1149. The queen Eleanor had accompanied him in his late expedition, and by her temper and conduct had deeply offended him. He was naturally grave and austere; but mild, and somewhat simple. She was keen and passionate, but considerably addicted to levity and gallantry. He deplored her disrespectful and indecent conduct; she insulted his seriousness as mean and monkish. In short, they despised each other, and chose rather to separate, than either govern their temper, make mutual concessions, or resolve on habitual accommodation and forbearance; a task to human nature ever hard and insupportable. It was suggested to the king, that she was his relation within the forbidden degree, and that their marriage of course was null. The council of Baugenci was assembled, and the alleged relation being proved, the marriage was dissolved. Eleanor returned to her father's house; and Guienne, her noble patrimony, which was so great an acquisition to the crown of France, was restored¹⁰.

She marries
Henry of
England.

In about six weeks after her divorce from Lewis, Eleanor was married to Henry the young duke of Normandy, son of Matilda countess of Anjou, and legal heir of the crown of England; to whom Lewis had some time ago granted the investiture of that duchy, supposing by so doing that he would detach it from the crown of England. But Eustace, son of the usurper Stephen,

¹⁰ Gest. Ludov. VII. Epist. Suger. Hist. apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 507.

died.

died. The English, wearied of war, persuaded ^{A. D. 1152.} him to set aside his surviving son, and rather adopt Henry, whose right was indisputable, on condition that he should make no attempt on the crown during Stephen's life. The proposal was readily agreed to by all concerned; and on Stephen's death, which happened soon after, Henry succeeded without opposition to the throne.

Lewis now repented both the investiture and the divorce. He was disquieted and alarmed; but these acts could not now be altered, his rival being too powerful. He submitted, therefore, contentedly to remain in peace, on receiving two thousand marks of silver; and, instead of the vast territories of Guienne, Poitou, and Normandy, which formed a great part of France, he was obliged to be satisfied with Henry's doing homage to him for them. This was the revolution which the Abbé Suger dreaded, and which he so anxiously studied to prevent; for had not Eleanor been divorced, and Henry obtained the investiture of Normandy, it is more than probable that he never would have succeeded to the throne of England.

Two things, on the other hand, contributed to re-animate Lewis, and to support the interest and maintain the prosperity of France against so powerful a rival. The one was, his marriage with Constantia, the daughter of Alphonso VIII. king of Leon and Castille, the most respectable of the Christian princes of Spain. The other was, the concordate entered into and solemnly ^{Concordate of peace, June} ratified ^{A. D. 1155.}

A. D. 1155, ratified by the nobles of France in the council of Soissons, for securing and maintaining the peace of the kingdom for ten years".

The country having been long agitated and torn to pieces by the private wars of the nobles and inferior barons, and sometimes even of the clergy, as well as by professed freebooters, who took advantage of the weakness of the government, and of the licentiousness and distraction of the times, to attack and plunder, where and when they found an opportunity; the king, the principal clergy, several dukes and counts, and many of the inferior barons of France, resolved and swore, that for ten years to come after the following Easter, they would exert themselves with all their might to give peace and security to the kingdom, and to terminate any difference which might arise, by arbitration, or by process in a legal court, rather than by arms. In consequence of this wise and benevolent agreement, a sensible change immediately took place in the state of the country. Religion, agriculture, and merchandize began to flourish, population increased, the public roads were frequented, civilization rapidly advanced, and men might be said for the first time to taste the happiness of safety and order in France.

Extensive
territories
of the king
of England
in France.

This union, which greatly increased the political strength and respectability of the kingdom, was no more than necessary against so formidable a rival as Henry king of England. To

" Acta Concil. Harduini, tom. vi. p. 1366.

his

his duchies of Normandy and Guienne, and his county of Poitou, he added, by the death of his brother Geoffrey, Anjou, Touraine, and Maine. He received in trust also the county of Flanders from count Thierri of Alsace, who assumed the cross, and set out for the Holy Land. A. D. 1158.

Excepting on one side, the dominions of Lewis were nearly surrounded by those of Henry; and even on that side, his impatience to prefer his claim was scarcely restrained, and suspended for a little, by the marriage of his eldest son Henry, with Margaret, daughter of Lewis by Constance. He claimed the county of Thoulouse from Raymond of St. Gilles, who, as he understood, held it by warrant only, for a redeemable debt, from Eleanor his queen's grandmother. Raymond refused to surrender, and claimed the protection of Lewis, his lord paramount. Armies and alliances were zealously formed on both sides. The neighbourhood of Guienne furnished a ready and ample supply of troops for commencing the attack. Another levy in Normandy created a strong and successful diversion in the neighbourhood of Paris. The alarm of the citizens and of the king was increased by the count of Evreux's declaring for Henry. It became necessary to sue for peace; which was granted. By this peace it was agreed, that Henry should surrender Gisors and Neuffle on the consummation of his son Henry's marriage with Margaret daughter of Lewis; and, on the other hand, he and his sons were to pay homage

H 2

to

A.D. 1158. to Lewis for the provinces which they held of him in France¹².

Henry, however, was too impatient to acquire the actual possession of these cities, and ordered his son's nuptials with Margaret to be celebrated, without the knowledge and concurrence of Lewis, when they were but five or six years of age. Lewis, reasonably offended, began to renew the war. The two monarchs were mutually jealous; they both esteemed and feared each other, and dreaded the consequences of war in either kingdom. Lewis was more open and simple; Henry more designing and artful. He entertained the hope, that by his son's marriage with the eldest princess of France, even contrary to the constitution of that kingdom against female succession, the French might one day be united with the English crown. He was, on the whole, more desirous of conciliatory measures, and of studying and waiting the most favourable opportunities for maintaining and augmenting his present territories, and finally obtaining possession of the French kingdom: peace was therefore concluded. But Henry was afterwards disappointed in the great object of his hope, by the third marriage of Lewis, two weeks after the death of Constantia in child-birth, with Adelaide, daughter of Theobald count of Champagne, who bare him a son and heir, Philip, called Augustus¹³.

August,
A.D. 1165.

¹² Neubrigen. lib. ii. Hoveden. Chron. Norman.

¹³ See an inquiry into the reasons for this surname in tom. viii. p. 532. Mem. de l'Acad. des Inscr. & Belles Lettres.

In England, the long contest between the king and Becket archbishop of Canterbury, ended in the violent death of that prelate, by the instigation, as is believed, of the former. Henry seems to have been conscious that his passionate language, "Will none of my knights deliver me from this turbulent priest?" had contributed to his assassination. He submitted to penitence, and was formally absolved by the church; but the belief was generally entertained, that the rebellious conduct of his sons was an expression of the just displeasure of Heaven against him for the death of Becket.

A.D. 1165.

Becket.

The frequent practice of those times, when hereditary succession to the throne was not fully established, and other political considerations, induced the king of England to cause Henry, his eldest son, to be consecrated, and associated with him in the government. The circumstances in which this solemnity was performed requiring particular management, might hinder the princess Margaret, who was espoused to him, from being crowned at the same time. This was the apology given; but it does not seem to have satisfied the court of France. Her father, and others, professing friendship for prince Henry, urged him to demand an actual share in the government, and inflamed his resentment on that demand being denied him. Encouraged by Lewis, some of the states of Normandy, the count of Flanders, William the Lion, king of Scotland, and others both in France and England, he resolved to seize the sceptre from his father's hands, and to re-

A.D. 1165. munerate the services of these different powers, who were to aid him with extravagant grants of English and French territories and states.

Brabantine
troops.

The English monarch thus attacked by his own son, neither desponded, nor altogether trusted to his Norman vassals. He hired a new kind of troops, twenty thousand Brabantines, soldiers of fortune, from the Netherlands. These he opposed to the French army: much blood was shed, and great devastation made on both sides. The winter occasioned some respite, and negotiations were attempted. Henry, though one of the wisest and greatest of monarchs, and the most jealous of his independence, solicited the mediation and aid of the pope. "I am your vassal," said he, addressing himself to pope Alexander III., "and hold of you only. Let it appear, then, that you are able by your spiritual authority to defend the patrimony of St. Peter."⁴

Alexander, gratified by the homage of so great and haughty a prince, threatened his son and his allies with the most tremendous anathemas, if they did not, within fifteen days, lay down the arms of rebellion. They were too deeply engaged, however, to be deterred by such threats. The activity and generalship of Richard de Lacy were more effectual. While William king of Scotland on the one hand, and the earl of Leicester on the other, were ravaging

⁴ Inter Epistolas Petri Blefens.

England,

England, as he could not fight them both, he A.D. 1165. made a feint of invading Scotland, which drew off the Scotch army to the defence of their own country, while he turned suddenly against Leicester's army, defeated it, took him prisoner, and sent him to the king in Normandy.

The king of Scotland, it is true, returned more exasperated than ever; and had young Henry succeeded in transporting his army over into England at the same time, their co-operation might have proved fatal to the reigning king. But his adversity had reached the limits set by that Providence, which saith, "Thither come, and no farther." It affected his mind in the manner adversity appears intended to operate, by exciting a strong sense of guilt, and by leading him to repentance; but the outward expressions of his conduct were such as the times dictated, superstitious, fanatical, and extravagant.

Being accessory to the murder of archbishop Becket, he resolved to undergo the severest penance. He set out therefore from Normandy, clothed in sackcloth; and on his arrival at Canterbury, walked barefoot to the deceased prelate's tomb. There he prostrated himself with his face to the ground, cried for mercy, stripped himself bare, and received five stripes from every bishop, abbot, and monk present, till the blood flowed from his shoulders. King's penitence.

This discipline, accompanied with an harangue suited to the occasion by the bishop of London, produced a wonderful effect on the people. It

A. D. 1165. not only moved their compassion, but recovered and secured their favour. The popular cry of sympathy and aid to the king, spread from one city and county to another. His friends assembled numerous in arms to oppose the Scottish army, which was defeated, and the king himself, William, taken prisoner. This totally disconcerted the rebels in England, and the allies on the continent. Young Henry's fleet was wind-bound; Lewis was obliged to raise the siege of Rouen; and a truce was granted, which ended in a peace¹⁵.

Several years had passed since the princess Alice, the youngest daughter of Lewis, had been betrothed to Henry's second son, Richard. It was agreed, that she should be educated in the English court, till she became marriageable. After seven or eight years, no steps were taken to celebrate the nuptials. Insinuations were given that Henry himself was unduly attached to her. Lewis was indignant, and requested the mediation of the pope. All the dominions of Henry in England and France were threatened with an interdict, which he extremely dreaded. He went over to France, had an interview with Lewis in presence of the pope's legate, and managed both with such art, as not only to prevent the interdict, but evade the consummation of the marriage.

The attention of both parties was directed by the legate to a different subject, which was so interesting in those times, and of such magnitude,

¹⁵ Roger de Hoveden. W. Neubrig. Robert de Mont.

as to exclude matters of inferior moment. Both ^{A. D. 1165.} kings were persuaded by him to engage in a crusade to the Holy Land. They signed a treaty ^{A. D. 1177.} to that effect, the preamble of which was as follows: "Know all men, that such is, and henceforth shall be, our friendship, that each of us shall defend the life, members, dignity, and goods of the other. I Henry will aid my lord Lewis, king of France, with all my forces; and I Lewis, with all my power, will succour Henry king of England, *sicut hominem, & fidelem meum*, as my vassal; excepting, nevertheless, the faith which we severally owe each to his own vassals and kingdom, &c."¹⁶

Though Henry entered into this scheme with warmth, in order to divert Lewis from his grievances, he appears to have had no serious intention actually to execute it. He embarked ^{A. D. 1178.} therefore some time after for England, and occupied himself wholly in other pursuits.

Lewis, on the other hand, was prevented from making suitable preparations for the Asiatic expedition by family and personal affliction. His only son Philip, now about fourteen years of age, carried too far by his ardor in hunting in the forest of Compiègne, lost his way, and wandered a whole night on horseback. A charcoal-maker accidentally found him in the morning, and conducted him home; but fatigue and fear

¹⁶ Roger de Hoveden.

A.D. 1178. threw him into a fever, which threatened his life. The king's anxiety for his son and heir, made him listen, in that superstitious age, to the stories of miraculous cures performed by Thomas à Becket. He hastened to the tomb of that prelate, whom he had befriended during his life, presented rich donations and fervent prayers, and returning in a few days, found his son on his recovery.

As soon as the prince's strength permitted, he was solemnly crowned, and associated in the throne with his father. Henry the younger of England assisted at the ceremony, and carried or supported the crown as duke of Normandy; the count of Flanders carried the sceptre¹⁷; the archbishop of Rheims consecrated and crowned him: many lords both temporal and spiritual attended; but we do not find any twelve of them distinguished by particular rank, or office, as peers.

King's
death.

Lewis himself was unable to attend this ceremony, having been seized with an apoplexy at St. Denis. He survived about eight months without the use of his right side, and died in September A. D. 1180, in the sixty-first year of his age, and the forty-third of his reign¹⁸.

¹⁷ "Gladium regni," the sword of state. R. Hoveden.

¹⁸ Veterum script. Fragment. apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 442—445. Gullierm. Briton. Armoric. Philippidos, lib. i. This author calls Lewis seventy years of age, but it must be a mistake, since he was but eighteen at the time of his father's death, A. D. 1137. Rigord also calls him "pene septuagenarius."

His

His reign was active, but not on the whole ^{A. D. 1180.} prosperous. He was more amiable than wise, more bustling and sanguine than vigorous and persevering. His great rival, Henry, excelled him in natural sagacity and political skill. He almost inclosed the kingdom of France within the territories depending on England; but at the same time, this external pressure united more closely, and compacted the French nobles together more firmly, to defend themselves against so formidable an enemy, lest they should one day fall totally under his dominion.

SECT. VII.

*Reign of PHILIP II. AUGUSTUS, A. D. 1180, to
A. D. 1223.*

PHILIP was rather handsome in his person, and ^{Philip's character.} of the middle size; a little disfigured by two pearl-like warts on one of his eyes. His temper was lively, and his manner of expression sententious; his superior talents shone with equal lustre in civil and military affairs. His mind was active, and his views were extensive; he was calm when it was proper to deliberate, but prompt when circumstances and success required dispatch. The general success which attended him might induce some new habits; it cannot be easy, in such prosperity as his, to moderate ambition, and maintain a temper altogether dispassionate and patient; his manners were notwithstanding agreeable, and,

A.D. 1180. making allowance for the times, his conduct was generally consistent and unblamable.

His birth after his father's third marriage, after so many daughters, and in consequence of so many fervent wishes and prayers, was peculiarly gratifying to both the king and people, and made them believe and say, that he was *the gift of God*. It seems trifling to infer his surname Augustus from his being born in the month of August. That name was ascribed to him after his death¹, as the well-merited acknowledgment of his great achievements and success in extending the dominions and humbling the enemies of France². We proceed to narrate the events of his reign, from which we shall be able to judge whether that title was justly attributed to him or not.

Philip earl
of Flanders,
his mini-
ster,

He enjoyed the advantage of the counsel and tuition of Philip earl of Flanders, his godfather, not only during his father's lifetime, but afterwards; his father having left that nobleman, who was well qualified for the trust, his guar-

¹ By Rigord, who wrote in the following reign.

² Rigord, a physician, and historiographer to Lewis VIII, wrote the life of Philip. He is tedious, credulous, and superstitious*. Gulliermus or William Brito, Armoricus of Bretany, also wrote his life in hexameter verse, in twelve books. This is more free on the whole from fable, and is simple and perspicuous. It is more a narration than a poem.

* Rigord's own account of his authorities is; "Scripsi enim quædam quæ propriis oculis vidi, quædam quæ ab aliis diligentius inquisita: forsan minus plene edidici, quædam mihi incognita penitus prætermisi." Prologus.

dian and minister. The queen-mother, and her brother the count of Champagne, envied him that honour and power, and attempted to seize the administration. The spirit of the young king, who was but fifteen years and a half old at his accession, rose against their unreasonable ambition, and he discovered a judgment, promptitude, and courage, which shewed that he was likely to require little more tuition from either the one or the other. He came on the rebels unexpectedly, seized Chatillon, one of the principal fortresses belonging to them in Berry on the Loire, levelled it with the ground, and by fire and sword carried such terror into all the adjacent country, in which the rebellion had chiefly appeared, that they made haste to lay down their arms, and to sue for pardon and peace.

A. D. 1180.

is opposed
by the
queen-mo-
ther.

The queen having fled to Normandy, under the protection, and by the advice and encouragement of the king of England, thither her son followed her. He was opposed on the frontiers by a numerous army. He would have hazarded an engagement, but was dissuaded by the earl of Flanders, and particularly by the cardinal de S. Chrislogon, the pope's legate, who had influence to procure a conference, which issued in a peace between the contending parties.

Henry king of England himself, old and experienced, the first politician of his time, attended. Philip had never before assisted at any political negotiation; regardless of pleasure, he applied himself actively and steadily to business; treated

A.D. 1180. treated with equal neglect the frowns and caresses of more experienced courtiers; maintained his purpose, and insisted, that no favour nor power on earth, however respected, should prevent or deter him from endeavouring, to the utmost of his judgment and ability, to establish the order and prosperity of his kingdom; nor from punishing those who attempted to disorder it by sedition or rebellion. He received his mother with becoming respect, and readily agreed to provide her with an establishment suitable to her rank, provided that she attempted no more to interfere with the government. Henry admired his talents and temper; he saw in him a formidable opponent to his family; he admitted his claims, confirmed former treaties between the two kingdoms, and embraced the young prince as his most respectable friend.

Though Philip's talents were great, yet the consummate wisdom and prudence of age and experience were not yet to be expected. In times too when oppressive superstition reigned, it is no wonder that youth was biassed by its influence, and believed that respectability and goodness consisted in observing its maxims and dictates. The religious zeal which the crusades had kindled, began to flame in other directions; and the cardinal of Champagne having become minister, disposed the king to cherish that zeal, and to favour the views of the clergy, at the same time that he seemed to enrich the treasury, and to promote the general welfare of the kingdom.

Persecution
of the Jews.

The

The greater energy of the government during A. D. 1180.
the late reigns having rendered the state of individuals more secure, trade had revived; the cities began to form and flourish; strangers frequented them; and many thousands of Jews had settled in them. Their industry and success were envied by those who would not imitate their activity and care. Their wealth was coveted. The influence and respectability which wealth and steady conduct will procure, became objects of jealousy with those who felt their just inferiority and merited neglect. In so great a number of Jews as appear to have almost engrossed the commerce of Paris and other principal cities, there is no doubt that there were many foolish and licentious individuals, who in their prosperity forgot that they were strangers, obnoxious to the unthinking multitude, as well as more particularly to envious and jealous rivals; and who indulged not merely in levities offensive to zealous Christians, but were guilty of some outrages which ought to have provoked justice, not against the innocent, but against the persons of the actual transgressors. General prejudice and indignation were excited. The people cried out against the meanness of those who submitted to the servitude of the Jews: all who were indebted to them, for they were the bankers and merchants of those times, exclaimed against their usury as unlawful and oppressive; while the zealous religionists anathematized them as the enemies of the church, and of the gospel of Christ. Some of them had imprudently received ecclesiastical vessels and images in gold and silver, as pledges for money granted by them

A. D. 1181. them in loan, which they were represented as misapplying to unhallowed uses, in ridicule and contempt.

A general rage broke out against them. The king entered into the spirit of the church and of the people, arbitrarily liberated Christian servants or slaves from their Jewish masters; declared all debts due by Christians to Jews forfeited, on paying a fifth part of them into the royal treasury; confiscated their immoveable property, allowing them their moveables and furniture only, or the produce of it when sold, for their own maintenance and travelling expences; banished them from the kingdom, excepting such only as professed the Christian faith and were baptised, and converted their synagogues into Christian churches³. These were prejudices and injuries, not of the prince so much, as of the age in which he lived.

Improvements of Paris.

He was more wisely and humanely employed in improving the capital of his kingdom. He extended its boundaries and privileges, established a fair on a property formerly belonging to a charitable foundation for lepers, and built large halls for the accommodation of merchants and traders, for which they were to pay a small tax or stallage. The population of the city was lately much increased. The repair on the streets became so great, that in rainy weather especially they were almost impassable. He ordered them to be causewayed, and so changed the appear-

³ Rigordus. Gullierm. Philippid.

ance of the city, that, according to Rigord, its name was suitably changed from Lutetia the clayey, to Paris the elegant city*. He farther inclosed the city and a great part of the suburbs with a wall, adorned and strengthened with towers and battlements. With equal magnificence, though with less utility, he inclosed the forest of Vincennes with a vast wall, and stocked it with every kind of animals, particularly wild goats and deer, for the amusement of hunting. A. D. 1183.

Nor was his attention confined to the improvement of the capital; he studied to give order and security to the kingdom. He scoured the country with small armies and detachments, to clear it of a numerous and fierce banditti, who had hitherto taken advantage of the unsettled state of the kingdom, and particularly infested the county of Berri. He attacked them in every direction, and totally exterminated them. Order and security of the kingdom. A. D. 1184.

He was very desirous also to restrain the rights, as they were called, of private war among the nobles, which was so injurious to the government, and so detrimental in general to the prosperity and peace of the country. This the church had moderated, by ordaining, A. D. 1054, the truce, or peace of God, which prohibited, under the severest ecclesiastical censures, all hostilities for four days of the week, from Wednes-

* The same historian Rigord, however, suggests, that the same was borrowed from the son of Priam king of Troy, of whom the French kings are fabled to have descended.

A.D. 1184. day till Monday, both exclusive, during Lent, and some other festivals of the church^s.

Durand.

When these acts of councils had again lost their effect, particularly in the south of France, the end was accomplished by the fanaticism of a visionary of the name of Durand, a carpenter. On the day of the feast of the Assumption, the nobles and clergy being assembled as usual at Puy, he boldly presented himself before them; declared that he had been favoured of God with a vision, in which he was commanded by divine authority to remonstrate against their animosities and wars, and in the name of God to enjoin them henceforth to maintain and promote peace. In proof of his veracity and mission, he produced an image of the Virgin, seated on a throne, holding the child Jesus, on which were inscribed these words: "Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world, give us peace!" They not only believed him, but were deeply affected with a sense of their own former injurious conduct, wept aloud, and swore on the holy gospel, that they

" Iterum mandamus, atque confirmamus ipsam tregam Dei quæ à nobis dudum constituta fuerit, & nunc à pravis hominibus disrupta esse videtur; ut firmiter deinceps ab omnibus teneatur. Igitur obsecramus per Deum, & monemus, ut nemo Christianorum quemlibet Christianum requirat ad malefaciendum ab occasu solis quartæ feriæ usque secundæ feriæ illucescente sole. — Præcipimus etiam ut à prima dominica adventus Domini usque octavas transactas Epiphaniæ; sive à prima dominica quæ est ante caput jejuniorum usque transactas octavas Paschæ: sive à dominica ante ascensionem Domini, usque octavas Pentecoste expletas," &c. &c. Acta Concilior. Harduini, Concil. Narbon. A.D. 1054.

would

would no longer live in discord, but in peace. A. D. 1184.
 As a proof of their sincerity, and as a memorial of their solemn vow, each of them obtained, and wore on his breast, an impression of this image, made on pewter. It served as a kind of charm, not only to restrain them who wore it, but to render them secure and even respectable among their enemies; so that, as the historian observes, if one man by accident slew another, the brother of the deceased, instead of revenge as formerly, visited him with consolation, treated him with hospitality, and embraced him as a friend⁶.

In a word, while the great object of Philip's predecessors was merely to secure the throne against competitors and rivals, without regarding the private interests of the people, his attention was directed to all the means of promoting and maintaining justice and peace between man and man in every rank and condition.

Philip was not only solicitous to secure the best interests of the kingdom which he held, but was ambitious to extend his dominions. Since the reconciliation with his mother and uncles, and his having advanced in age and experience, the influence of the earl of Flanders, his tutor and minister, sensibly declined. In attempting to shew his authority, and to recover his importance in the government, he rather widened the breach, and made the young king, who was nearly twenty years of age, not only reject his counsel and friendship, but resent some parts of his conduct as injurious and hostile, and parti-

Philip ambitious to enlarge the kingdom.

⁶ Rigordus de Gestis Philippi Augusti.

A.D. 1184 cularly on the occasion of the king's marriage with the earl's niece, Isabella Alix, daughter of William earl of Hainaut.

obtains
Vermandois, &c.

While their minds were thus chafed, the countess Elizabeth of Flanders died without issue. Philip insisted, that the portion which she, as grand-daughter of Hugh the Great, had brought the earl, viz. the territories of Vermandois, Amiens, and Valois, were conferred by Lewis VII., with permanence conditionally only in case of children; and that condition having failed, these large domains ought to revert to the crown. This he offered to prove by men of all ranks. His arguments, witnesses, and summonses being disregarded, he appealed to the sword. He imitated the late Henry of England, and hired an army of Brabanters, which, with the ban and arriere-ban of his own vassals, rendered him extremely formidable. Several places were taken. Boyes, a strong place near Amiens, after a siege of some weeks, was ready to surrender, when the friends of both parties interposed, and procured a peace, by which the counties of Vermandois, Amiens, and Sancerre, were annexed to the crown.

Burgundy.

Odo, duke of Burgundy, next drew the royal attention, by laying siege to the castle of Vergi, with a view to annex it and its territories to his government. Guido, or Guy, the allodial proprietor of that castle, requested the protection of Philip, offering to become his vassal; and the request was readily granted. The royal army came suddenly on the besiegers, and defeating and dispersing them, destroyed their works and took

took the castle. The property was entirely surrendered by the king to Guy on his doing homage for it, but the superiority was for ever annexed to the crown⁷. A. D. 1184.

This success encouraged him to hear other complaints against this duke. The ancient churches, in which the kings and queens of France were buried in the different regions of that kingdom, though within the limits of counties or baronies belonging either to allodial or feudal proprietors, were always understood, with the lands attached to them, to be under the immediate protection of the crown. This being questioned by Odo, and grievous charges brought against him by the clergy, of oppression, injustice, and cruelty, the king summoned him to a council, and fined him in thirty thousand livres, seizing in the mean time three of his castles as a security. The proud and ambitious vassal, who in former reigns would have shaken the throne, felt himself altogether unequal to contend with a prince so active, and a government so vigorous. He threw himself at the feet of his sovereign, acknowledged the injuries which he had done, promised due reparation, and submitted in all things to the rightful superiority of the king⁸.

These

⁷ " Quo facto statim rex castrum vergiaci cum omnibus ad ipsum pertinentibus integerrimo domino Guidoni & heredibus suis restituit, tamen sibi & suis successoribus, retento dominio." Rigord de Gestis Philippi.

⁸ Gerard governor of Poissy, who appears to have been chancellor of the exchequer about this time, April, A. D.

A.D. 1184. These military triumphs were of great importance, as they diminished the power of the nobles, and augmented the authority and influence of the crown. That influence was greatly increased, and universal joy was diffused over the whole kingdom, by the birth of a prince, who was named Lewis. This event was celebrated in Paris for seven days, in feasting, illuminations, and solemn processions.

Lewis VIII.
born Sep-
tember 5,
A.D. 1187.

With these rejoicings, however, were contrasted the calamities of the Christians in Asia. Noradin, sultan of Aleppo, an active and brave prince, pushed his conquests since the last crusade with so much vigour and success, that Edeffa, Damascus, and other cities, were forced to submit to him. Baldwin III. and IV., kings of Jerusalem, the chief support of the Christian interest in the east, were dead. Raymond, count of Tripoli, having claimed the crown, and being disappointed by the accession of Guy de Lusignan, he indulged his resentment to the degree of joining in alliance with the infidels. His violation of that treaty afterwards incensed them so much, that they resolved on the utter extirpation of the Christians. They succeeded in a bloody engagement against the confederated army, in which the king of Jerusalem was taken prisoner. The count of Tripoli escaped, but died

1186, paid out of his own property, on retiring from that office, eleven thousand marks of silver into the royal treasury. Walter the chamberlain is said to have succeeded him. As no resentment or violence is suggested, it seems to have been altogether a voluntary gift. Rigord de Gellis Philippi.
soon

soon after. Jerusalem, and all the territories of A. D. 1187. the Christians, except Antioch, Tripoli, and Tyre, submitted to the conqueror.

The news of these calamities spread a general consternation over Europe: pope Urban III. is said to have died of grief. The kings of A. D. 1188. England and France, laying aside their personal quarrels, demanded the cross, and resolved to march in person to the relief of the Holy Land. After busy and extensive preparations, they seemed ready to set out, when a serious difference began to distract and detain them.

In a dispute, at first of no great magnitude, betwixt Henry of England's eldest son Richard, duke of Guienne, and Raymond, count of Thoulouse, the former revived the claim of the house of Guienne on the county of Thoulouse; and having actually invaded it, took Quiercy, Cahors, and Moissac; the latter claimed the immediate protection of his nephew, and lord paramount, Philip king of France. Philip, satisfied that it was both his duty and interest to grant instantly the protection demanded, marched quickly south, and over-ran Berry and Auvergne,

Having heard of Henry's arrival in Normandy, and of his advancing as far as Gisors, thither with equal speed he turned his arms. He almost surprised and captured the father and son, Henry and Richard, in the castle of Tron, which he took and burnt. He pursued them;

A. D. 1188. the royal armies met near Gisors, and the Normans were defeated. Negotiations were attempted, of which Philip appears to have taken advantage, in order to gain over the English prince, and oppose him to his father. Richard required the consummation of his marriage with Alix, or Adelais, Philip's sister, who had been so long detained in the English court, and a share of the government during his father's life, as his heir and successor. Richard's desertion of his father, on these proposals being rejected, and Philip's success, for he had conquered two whole provinces and several cities, affected Henry's spirits; and his youngest and most favoured son having also deserted him and joined Philip and Richard, he sunk under the stroke, was seized with a fever, and died on the sixth of July A. D. 1189^o.

Prepara-
tions.

Immediately after Richard's accession, which was unopposed and peaceable, he cordially agreed to join Philip in the crusade. Both kings, therefore, directed all their attention to this object. A tenth, both of heritables and moveables, was demanded from all their subjects, excepting a few monasteries, and those who actually and personally engaged in the expedition. Those who could not readily advance this sum, were allowed to mortgage their property for three years, in order to raise it. Games of hazard were forbidden; œconomy was enjoined, both in dress and entertainment; and other regulations were

^o W. Neubr. l. iii. R. Hoveden. Benedict. Abbas, framed.

framed, for the purpose of preventing, if possible, ^{A. D. 1189.} the disorders and inconveniences which had disgraced the former crusades.

The last interview of these princes at Nonancourt was friendly and interesting. They were both in the flower of their age, ambitious, and enterprising; their entertainments were sumptuous, their equipage magnificent, and their professions of respect and attachment warm and sincere. Richard was frank, and passionate; Philip more close, and designing. The relative situation, however, of their dominions, and their prosecution of the same object by similar means at the same time, considering the depraved state of human nature, rendered them almost necessarily rivals, and inspired them with jealousy.

The difficulties and dangers which had attended the march of great armies in the two former crusades by land, and the more recent experience of Frederic emperor of Germany, whose army of one hundred and fifty thousand men was reduced by the time it reached Palestine to less than ten thousand, determined the two kings to transport their forces by sea. In the plains of Vezelay they marched one hundred thousand men, well armed, and provided in all necessary stores. Thence, separating, Richard ^{Embarkation.} marched his army to Marseilles, and Philip embarked his men at Geneva. ^{June, A. D. 1190.} They rendezvoused in September at Messina in Sicily,

Tancred, then king of Sicily, was natural son of the valiant Roger, who first enjoyed the title of king

A.D. 1190.

Halt at
Sicily.

king of Sicily and Naples; but having acquired possession of the throne by force and arms, in opposition to Constance, who was married to Henry VI., emperor of Germany, the legal heir, he with reason dreaded the approach of these two kings with such an army, and their residence during the winter in his dominions. Though he did every thing in his power to gratify them, he could not altogether prevent jealousies, quarrels, and violence. He was more successful in sowing the seeds of dissension by unfair means, which hastened their separation and departure, but which, on the whole, contributed ultimately to augment the dominions and increase the power of Philip.

On every new occasion of difference, their discord was always aggravated by Richard's delay to marry Alix, Philip's sister. That matter was now explained; and the latter is said to have been satisfied of her criminal intercourse with the late king, and of the propriety consequently of the refusal of the former to marry her. Besides, Richard having resolved to marry Berengaria, daughter of Sanchez king of Navarre, was desirous to have every obstacle in the way of that connection removed, and to secure the consent and friendship of Philip; having therefore conferred freely together, they entered into a treaty, by which it was solemnly agreed to free Richard from his engagement to Alix, and to give up those places which were held in trust for her since she went to the English court. On the other hand, Richard did homage to Philip for Normandy, and the other places which

which he held of him, gave him an obligation ^{A. D. 1190.} for ten thousand marks of silver, troy weight, constituted him his heir, failing issue of his own body, of the Vexin in Normandy; and actually transferred to him the rights of Ifnodoun, Cref-fac, and other places which he claimed in Augvergne and Thoulouse¹⁰.

In twenty-two days after, Philip arrived before ^{Arrival in Acre.} Acre, or Ptolemais, which was then besieged by the Christians. As soon as Richard arrived, new dissensions arose. The title to the throne of Jerusalem, though that city was now in the hands of the enemy, was disputed with animosity; the Christians ranged themselves on that question into two parties, and being engrossed with the title, almost lost sight of the territory. The garrison of Acre, however, ^{July, A. D. 1191.} surrendered prisoners of war, restored the wood of the true cross, as it was believed to be, delivered up two thousand five hundred Christian captives, and paid two hundred thousand besans, or bysantines, pieces of gold which were so called.

In a scene like this, Richard's frank and active ^{Philip's return.} temper and manners, as well as his superior gallantry and spirit of enterprise, appear to have given him an ascendancy over Philip. The latter was unwilling to remain, where he felt himself but the second in influence and authority. The state of his health, being indeed seriously ill, was

¹⁰ R. Hoveden. Rymer Act. public. tom. i. Philippid. lib. iv.

A. D. 1191. the ostensible, and might be the real, cause of his resolution to relinquish the expedition and return to Europe. Leaving to Richard, as a mark of his favour and good wishes for the success of the enterprise, ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, with pay for them during three years, he re-embarked, and arrived in France

A. D. 1192. about Christmas A. D. 1192,

The queen-mother Adelaide, and the cardinal archbishop William of Rheims, as joint regents, who had governed the kingdom in his absence with great prudence and integrity, now restored it to him as tranquil and orderly as he left it. His own mind only was disquieted with credulity and suspicion, which led him to acts of cruelty, and the violation of the most solemn engagement. He believed that the Jews, with the permission of the counts of Champagne, had not only crowned a Christian in derision with thorns, but had scourged and crucified him. In his rage, therefore, on this report, he caused fourscore Jews to be apprehended and burnt.

Body-
guards.

He listened also with equal credulity to the report of assassins having been destined to put him to death. The subjects of a petty prince among the mountains of Phenicia, being Mahometans, were taught to believe that acts even of cruelty, in obedience to their chief, would be certainly rewarded in a future state with inexhaustible pleasure. Instead of open war, therefore, he employed his people, called Assassiniens,

niens", in secret murder; and no prince obnoxious to him, however distant, was reckoned secure from his invisible, patient, but certain instruments of death. The marquis of Montferrat was reported to have fallen by his men in open day, and in the streets of Tyre. That nobleman had not offended the assassin prince, who was then so much an object of dread under the name of *The Old Man of the Mountain*; but he was known to be hated by Richard king of England, whose malice it was thought was capable of aiming similar shafts against the life of Philip, and who was reported to have the meanness to ally himself to the Assassinien. To secure himself as far as possible against the danger which he apprehended from this quarter, he instituted a body-guard of soldiers, armed with brass clubs, who attended and watched him in parties by turns night and day. On farther and strict inquiry, however, he became satisfied that the reports to which he had given credit were unfounded.

Prompted by ambition and jealousy, he could not divest himself of prejudice against the king of England. To the impressions made on his mind by the frequent preference given to his rival during the siege of Acre, were added the strong desire of enlarging the territories of the French kingdom, and of diminishing the power of England in France. Animated by these impressions and desires, he gladly seized every opportunity to gratify them.

" "Arsacide." Rigordus de Gestis Philippi.

After

A. D. 1192.

Richard's
return;is taken
prisoner in
Germany;

After recovering Jerusalem from the infidels, and conferring that kingdom on his nephew Henry count of Champagne, Richard concluded a truce with Saladin for three years three months and three days, and, relinquishing every other advantage obtained by the expedition since the surrender of Acre, embarked for England. Being shipwrecked in the Gulph of Venice, he hoped to travel home unknown on the continent; but the Germans, whom he had affronted during the siege of Acre, recognised him in his disguise as he turned the spit in the kitchen of an inn; they loaded him with chains, and carried him to the emperor Henry VI.

and libe-
rated.

Philip forgetting his vow over the gospel, that he would attempt nothing injurious to the interests of his royal colleague in the crusade during the expedition, was glad now to find him a prisoner, and did every thing he could to prevail on the emperor to surrender him to his custody. Meantime he negociated with John, Richard's younger brother, and agreed to guarantee England to him, on condition that John guaranteed to him the English dominions in France. Nor was it a mere verbal resolution; he proceeded with promptitude and power to realise his scheme, and conquered Gisors, Neufville, Ivry, Evreux, and Aumale.

4th Feb.
1194.

When Richard at last obtained his liberty, "Take care of yourself," said Philip, writing to John, "the devil is unchained." He took care of himself, and made peace with his brother, but deserted Philip. The war was renewed. As
soon

soon as Richard could leave England, he embarked at Portsmouth, and landed at Barfleur. ^{A. D. 1296.} He raised the siege of Verneuil, and took the castle of Lochis. The war was conducted on both sides with much resentment, and with circumstances of peculiar barbarity. At Evreux, the principal officers of the French garrison being invited to an entertainment by the English, were massacred in a state of intoxication. All capable of resistance were slain without apprehension of their danger, and their heads, reeking with blood, fixed on the walls. The revenge taken by Philip was equally cruel; but the mind turns with aversion from such inhuman scenes ^{He carries on war against Philip.} ^{12.}

At Freteval, between Chateaudun and Vendôme, Philip narrowly escaped being taken prisoner in the rear of his army. He lost not only all his baggage, but his treasure; and what was irreparable, the public papers of the kingdom. Till that time it appears to have been customary to carry them from place to place, wherever the king's residence and court were for any time fixed. Copies of them, however, were procured from other archives, as well as from memory, and thenceforth lodged in a fixed and safe repository.

Such a defeat provoked the king to greater exertions. By attacking John Santerre and the earl of Arundel, he raised the siege of Vadreuil. The suspension of hostilities for the space of one year, gave Philip time to recruit his treasury, to

¹² Philippid. lib. iv.

strengthen

A. D. 1194. strengthen the fortifications which required repair or improvement, and generally to prepare for the renewal of the war.

Ambition
of the
emperor
Henry VI.

The emperor Henry VI. had a legal claim by his wife Constance, aunt of William II. king of Sicily, to succeed him in that kingdom. On the death of Tancred, who had usurped the throne, he seized it, and added Sicily, with Apulia and Calabria, to his other extensive dominions in Italy and Germany. Elated with his success, he entertained the opinion that homage was due to him as emperor by all the kings of Europe. He had obtained it from Richard, as part of the ransom for which he granted him his liberty; and he vainly hoped that he should prevail on Philip also to yield it. He engaged Richard to attack the French dominions on the west and south, while he invaded them on the east, in order to force this submission. Each of the monarchs was to retain the places which he conquered, as the recompence of his exertions.

A. D. 1195. The war was accordingly renewed with circumstances of barbarity; but without producing any change of importance on the state of any of the contending parties. Peace and war alternately returned, as both princes were moved by caprice, jealousy, or ambition. The places were taken and abandoned; and the ravages inhumanly committed on the country affected private persons rather than the public. The death of Richard, by a wound which he received from an arrow before the castle of Chalus near Limoges, in the tenth year of his reign and forty-second of his age, at last placed the sceptre of England

Death of
Richard,
April 1199.

in the feeble hands of John, from whom Philip finally wrested all the domains of the English in France¹³.

A. D. 1199.

Is succeeded by John.

The rejection of John by the barons of these domains, and their submission to Arthur his nephew, the young duke of Brittany, contributed to produce this effect. The English, who were less governed by feudal ideas than the French, preferred the king's brother John in the collateral, to his nephew in the direct, line of succession, Arthur, the only son of Geoffrey his elder brother. By Richard's last will, John was declared heir of all his dominions. The English, it is also probable, thought it safer to acknowledge as their king, one who was more able to assert his claim and give stability to the government, than a minor who was then only twelve years of age.

Prince Arthur.

A great body of the French barons in Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, however, declared instantly for Arthur. They were encouraged by Philip, who foresaw his advantage in severing these transmarine provinces from the English crown. He took the young prince under his protection, and sent him, with his own son Lewis, to be educated in Paris.

This step, with other circumstances, rendered Constantia, the prince's mother, anxious for his welfare; and, when she considered Philip's ambition, suspicious of his intention to set aside her son, and to seize all his dominions in France.

¹³ Rigord. Guillelmi Philippid. R. de Hoveden.

A.D. 1199. Confiding rather in his uncle, she contrived to carry Arthur off from Paris to the English court. She restored the provinces which adhered to her son, and made him do homage for Brittany. Philip was thus disappointed, and for a season abandoned the pursuit; being threatened besides with an interdict on account of the imprisonment of the bishop elect of Cambray, and of an irregular divorce from Ingelberg the Danish princess, whom he extremely disliked, he sued for peace. The negotiation succeeded; their respective territories were determined; and the treaty was confirmed, by the marriage of Blanche of Castille, John's niece, with Lewis, Philip's eldest son. The treaty was guaranteed by nine English, and as many French barons, who solemnly swore that they would unanimously oppose the violator of it, and support with all their power the cause of the injured party⁴.

John was not long before he gave his rival a more favourable opportunity of gratifying his ambition. Being in Guienne during the summer, to receive the homage of his barons, John, though married, saw and loved extremely Isabella, daughter of the count of Angouleme, who was betrothed to Hugh le Brun, count of Marche. He obtained a divorce from his wife, and having persuaded the count her father to prefer him to Hugh le Brun, he married Isabella.

A.D. 1201. Hugh justly provoked, and having, with his brother the count de Eu, great influence in

⁴ Rigord. Hoveden. Rymer, vol. i.

Guienne and Normandy, raised the standard of rebellion, and claimed the protection and aid of Philip. The latter proceeded cautiously, and summoned John, as his vassal, to answer for his conduct in the king's court. Various charges were stated against him; and many evasions were used by him. His own barons were fretted and provoked by this treatment, and by the repeated violations of the engagements which he came under; seeing him weak and faithless, they resolved to conspire against him.

Arthur duke of Bretany, now able to judge for himself, suspecting the conduct of his uncle towards him, joined the mal-contents. He was carested by Philip; received his daughter Mary in marriage, and was again invested in the provinces which his mother Constantia had put under the protection of the English monarch. The minds of both parties were inflamed, and the war broke out with fresh ardor. Tillieres, Boutavaut, Lyons, Argueil, Mortemar, and Gournay, were seized by Philip, almost without striking a blow.

Young Arthur, however, was less fortunate. Ambitious of military fame, inexperienced, and not aware of the exertions which his uncle was capable of making on such an emergency, he laid siege with an inconsiderable army to the castle of Mirebeau, where he hoped to capture the king's mother, his own grand-mother, Eleanor, who had uniformly opposed his interests. John, roused by filial affection as well as by a sense of honour, came on him suddenly, routed his

A. D. 1201. army, and took him, the count of Marche, and several of the most considerable barons, prisoners. The latter were sent over to England, but the young prince was shut up in the castle of Falaise, and afterwards in Rouen, till his barbarous uncle, it is said, stabbed him with his own hand, and sunk his corpse in the Seine ¹⁶.

Is killed by
his uncle.

General indignation.

A crime so horrible excited universal indignation. The Britons especially, having constituted Alice, an uterine sister of Arthur, their sovereign, demanded vengeance on the murderer. Philip readily espoused their cause as lord paramount of both parties, and summoned John to answer for his conduct. Not appearing, he was solemnly condemned, and all his transmarine provinces were declared to be confiscated. Nor did this matter end in mere form. The season was extremely favourable for Philip's active and ambitious mind; he projected the expulsion of the English, and proceeded to execute it. Several of his great barons viewed the subject with indifference; and others were not in circumstances at the time, to interfere with him. The count of Champagne was a minor, and the counts of Blois and Flanders were engaged still as crusaders in the east. Many of John's vassals were ashamed of his conduct, and either not disposed to countenance and support him, or willing even to join the combination against him.

Opportune
turn-
ment.

The count of Alençon particularly having deserted John, and done homage to Philip, the

¹⁶ Guillelmi Philippid. lib. vi.

former

former suddenly laid siege to that place. The A. D. 1201.
 troops of the latter being at that time dispersed in winter-quarters, he found an expedient for his friend's relief, which increased his fame, and peculiarly characterises those times. He understood that a tournament was held at that moment at Moret in the Gatinois, attended by all the chief nobility of France, and of the adjacent countries; some to signalise their prowess, and others as spectators of the combats then so interesting. Thither Philip hastened, and addressing them with the natural eloquence inspired by the ardor which he felt, pointed to the plains of Alençon, as more worthy than these amusements of their generosity and martial spirit. Struck with the novelty of the proposal, indignant against John, and sympathising with Philip and his besieged vassal, they relinquished the semblance for the reality of war, and instantly attended him to Alençon. Their very approach terrified the feeble-minded monarch of England. He felt his own degradation in the reported union of so many brave knights against him; and hurrying away from their sight, he abandoned to them all his warlike engines and baggage.

Deserted by his own barons, and finding A. D. 1203.
 himself unable to stem the tide which rose against him on every hand, he meanly requested the interposition and aid of the pope. Innocent III., like all his predecessors, was glad of such a pretext for interfering with the civil administration of kingdoms; he pretended that the present war was peculiarly ruinous to the interests of religion

A.D. 1203. slaughtered in great numbers. Had the English fleet kept time, and seized the favourable moment when the bridge was broken, to force their passage, they might have succeeded; but the bridge was soon repaired. The attack made on it afterwards was furious, but too late. It was bravely repelled with all the arms then in use, bow and arrow, sword, javelin, club, sponton, pike, axe, and beams of wood shod with iron, which were pushed with force on the frail barges of which the fleet was composed. Two of the largest and strongest were sunk; the rest were alarmed, and the attempt being ineffectual, the English retired.

On their retiring, Gaubert, a native of Mantes, an excellent swimmer and diver, undertook to carry fire in pots attached to his naked body under water, and set fire to the palisade on the island. This he actually performed. A detachment seized the critical moment of alarm, landed on the island, and secured a lodgment. On this the inhabitants of the town, and the garrison of the citadel, surrendered.

But the Chateau Gaillard was still occupied by the brave, Roger de Lacy, earl of Chester, who dismissed all the people but those who were able to bear arms. This enabled him to entertain the hope of holding out many months; but in the end of March the sagacity and boldness of one man secured the place, and ended the contest.

Peter Bogis Camus, or short nose, a valet, or serjeant, observed a small window in the wall, which

which was intended to give light and air to a ^{A.D. 1103.} magazine. He proposed to enter that window, and, with the assistance of those who would venture to follow him, to surprise the garrison and open the gates of the castle. His plan was approved, and a party assigned him; he descended into the fossé, which was very deep; ran across unseen to the foot of the wall, climbed up it with his assistants, forced the window, drew up his associates, rushed on the garrison, which was reduced to about two hundred men, repelled them, and with much difficulty opened the gates; for their number began to appear much smaller than in the surprise it was believed to be. The army, which was at hand, instantly pressed in to their assistance, and took possession of the place. The brave governor de Lacy, as a token of Philip's admiration and esteem, was allowed to walk a prisoner at large wherever he chose in Paris and its environs ¹⁶.

The road into Normandy being now laid open, John fled to London, and left his French territories an easy conquest to Philip. Falaise, Caen, Coutance, Evreux, and Baïeux, fell into his hands. In a word, every fortified city, as abandoned by its own sovereign, opened its gates to the French king. Rouen indeed made a determined, but short resistance; and thus, after the lapse of three centuries since Charles the

English expelled from France.

¹⁶ The account of this famous siege is contained in the seventh book of an hexameter poem of twelve books, on the life and reign of Philip Augustus, by William Brito, a native of Brittany. It is more a record of facts which may be depended on, than a poem of genius and invention.

A.D. 1204 Simple granted it to Rollo, Normandy was reunited to the crown of France, and the people, at their own request, were governed again by French laws. Not a moment was lost. Philip led his victorious army to the other English provinces, and in about two years reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and almost all Poitou, under his dominion¹⁷.

The subsequent great preparations of John, his feeble attempt to recover the French provinces, his instant flight on the approach of the French army, and the confidence which he placed in the pope to obtain peace, more than in military skill and exertion, all conspired to **A.D. 1206** load him with accumulated disgrace.

Pope Innocent III., knowing his temper, and trusting to his timidity, ventured to carry his authority over him in England to an extreme. John having refused to receive Stephen Langton as archbishop of Canterbury, Innocent treated him as an inferior and dependant; he inflicted on him a gradation of ecclesiastical censures. He threatened him, exasperated the clergy against him, laid his kingdom under an interdict, fulminated a sentence of excommunication on him, absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, declared every one excommunicated who indulged the smallest intercourse or conversation with him, and finally pronounced on him a sentence of deposition from the throne of England.

¹⁷ Rigord. Guilliern. Briton. Arm. Philippid. lib. vii.

This last sentence, however, required an armed force to carry it into execution. Philip, king of France, was entrusted with its management, and was offered the crown of England by his holiness as a recompence, with the remission of all his sins, and eternal life. A. D. 1206.

Dazzled with the prize, though contrary to his real interest and duty, Philip engaged in this odious and dangerous service. He levied an army, and made such preparations as greatly alarmed the English monarch; seventeen hundred vessels are said to have been provided for transporting the finest troops of France into England¹⁸. Plan of invading England, A. D. 1213.

John was sufficiently active in providing a force to oppose this armament; but he wanted perseverance, and confidence. The pope's object being by no means to aggrandise Philip, but to humble monarchs in general, and subject them to papal authority, he seized the critical moment, and by his legate Pandulph, proposed a conference. The terms which the latter offered, were accepted. John agreed to receive Stephen Langton as archbishop, to indemnify him, and the clergy who had adhered to him, for any injury which they sustained by his opposition to them; to surrender his crown and kingdom to the pope, and to receive and hold them henceforth from him as his lord paramount. In the church of the knights templars at Dover, in presence of the bishops and lords of the nation, he knelt before the legate, putting his hands between

¹⁸ Matt. Paris. Rigord.

Pandulph's,

A. D. 1213. Pandulph's, as is usual in doing homage, and
 said, " I John, by the grace of God, king of
 " England, and lord of Ireland, for the expia-
 " tion of my sins, do, of my own free will, and
 " with the consent of my barons, give to the
 " church of Rome, to pope Innocent III. and
 " his successors, the kingdoms of England and
 " Ireland, with all their rights. I will hold them
 " henceforth as a vassal of the holy see, and
 " will be faithful to God, to the church of
 " Rome, and to my lord the sovereign pontiff,
 " and his successors ; and I oblige myself to pay
 " an annual feu of a thousand marks of silver,
 " viz. seven hundred for England, and three for
 " Ireland ⁹." A part of this tribute he paid
 down as an earnest, which the haughty legate
 exultingly trampled under his feet, signifying
 his superiority over England.

Pandulph then crossing the sea, waited on Philip, congratulated him on their success, and intimated to him, that as John had submitted to the church, he was now under her protection. The enraged monarch felt the insult : he had been put to great expence, he said, while the pope would now seize all the profit ; he declared and resolved, therefore, that he would not be so duped. He found his nobles, excepting Ferrand, count of Flanders, equally indignant, and determined to support him.

That count they resolved first to subdue, as a dangerous adversary to be left behind them.

⁹ Rymer, Aët. Publ. vol. i. Innocent. epist. 55. lib. xv.

This diversion gave the English king time to recover, collect his fleet, and attack his enemy. ^{A. D. 1213.} He encountered the French fleet off the port of Dam, took three hundred vessels, and destroyed one hundred, dispersing the rest; which the French themselves afterwards destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. ^{is frustrated.}

Elated with this success, John would have now in his turn invaded France, but was prevented by his barons, who detested him, and refused to accompany him. He trusted still that they would follow, if he preceded them; but he was disappointed ²⁰.

The count of Flanders, having called to his assistance not only the English, but some of the French barons, and above all Otho, the emperor of Germany, who were all jealous of the increasing power of Philip, combined their forces to invade his dominions, and humble him. The latter seemed unable to encounter so many foes, whose plan was to attack him in different points at once. Though much inferior to the united army of Germany and Flanders, he, undaunted, declined not the engagement which they offered him. Previous to the battle, he assembled his officers, and placing a crown of gold on the altar, at which mass had just been celebrated, "My generous followers," said he, "if there be one among you, whom you judge more worthy and capable than me to bear this, the chief diadem

Battle of
Bovines.

²⁰ M. Paris. Rigord.

" of

A.D. 1213. "of the world, I will be his subject; but if you
"do not judge me unworthy of it, consider
"that you have this day to defend your king,
"your country, your families, your property,
"your honour." "Long live Philip!" was
the only answer; "he is our king; we will
"die in defence of him, and the kingdom!"

Mean time the enemy, opposed in their march by an impassable brook, declined towards Tournay, as if they would avoid an engagement. To the majority of the French, however, it appeared necessary to fight, and even to meet the confederate army, or to suffer a great loss of men; they advanced, therefore, to the bridge of Bovines, near the village of Cesona. The greater part had crossed along the bridge; but the king waited, resting himself under a tree, till the rear should pass; when the shout arose, that the enemy meant to cut off the rear, and had already engaged it. The trumpet sounded to arms; the troops returned, and presented their front to the attack: the king leaped on horseback, and rushed forward to the very first line. The enemy, who believed that he had passed along the bridge, and that they had but a few of the rear to contend with, were confounded and dismayed. They wheeled to the west, fronting the south, not aware of the disadvantage of having the sun, which shone that day unusually bright, directly on their eyes. Philip extended his front to an equal length, with the sun behind him; and took his own position in the centre. William of Bar, the chief of the military profession, Barthelemi de Roy, an aged and experienced soldier, Gerard

Scropha,

Scrophpa, Stephen Longchamp, William de Gatland, &c. commanded the wings. The emperor Otho was opposed to Philip in the centre; and the standards of the eagle and dragon to those of the oriflame and the fleur-de-lis, which were then mentioned for the first time in history. A. D. 1214.

Before the charge was sounded, Philip shortly addressed the army: "Soldiers," said he, "in God is our hope and confidence: Otho and his army are excommunicated; they are the enemies of religion; they have robbed the church of her patrimony, and the poor of their means of subsistence: we appear here as the defenders of religion and liberty." No words could inspire more dignity and courage: the troops caught the enthusiasm, and called for the word of battle; the trumpets sounded, and the conflict began. Rigord, who describes the scene and action, witnessed it as chaplain of the army, standing in the centre a little behind the king.

The whole front extended above a mile. The engagement commenced on the right wing of the French army; for Philip was most apprehensive, being much inferior in number, lest the enemy should turn his flanks; and gave strict command on that subject to those who might be in so critical a station. To enable him to extend his front the farther, Philip ordered squires and valets, instead of occupying as usual the rear only, to advance and attack as occasion required. In the high spirit of chivalry, the knights of Flanders expected to encounter French knights

A.D. 1214. knights only, and therefore stood indignant. There was no time given them, however, to state points of honour, nor to alter their arrangements; they found the blows of squires and valets not much lighter than those of dubbed knights, and were consequently thrown into disorder.

Eustache of Magueline offered vainly to distinguish himself: he rode forward, bawling out, "To death with the French!" not doubting that his enthusiasm would inspire others to follow him, and that he might break and dispirit the French soldiers. The treatment which he met with, proved the difficulty of inflicting a wound, when every soldier was covered from head to foot with brass and iron, and that success depended chiefly on strength and caution. His enemies surrounded him, but they could neither wound him, nor pull him from his horse, till one of them, seizing his head between his arm and breast, pulled off his helmet, while another with a large knife, or short sword, cut his throat, and laid him lifeless on the ground. Even this single instance of success against so vain a boaster, produced a wonderful effect on the troops that were near. From this time no quarter was given; horses and men on both sides were felled with blows, or pierced wherever openings were discovered for swords and spears to enter.

The duke of Burgundy's horse was killed, and a circle of valuable friends and vassals closed around to defend him; another horse was procured; which having mounted, he grasped his

his sword, and rode forward with rage, swearing A.D. 1214. that he should be avenged.

The count of St. Paul, exhausted and faint with fatigue, had retired a small distance from the line, till he should recover. As he stood with his face to the battle, he saw one of his own friends surrounded, and in imminent danger. Stooping his head, and throwing his arms round his horse's neck, he galloped instantly, through the thickest ranks, straight to the spot, broke the circle, confounded the enemy with his daring courage and powerful strokes, rescued his friend, and brought him again into his station. After three hours, the French succeeded completely on the right wing. The enemy were either slain, or saved themselves by flight. Meantime, the king was exposed to much danger in the centre, where the battle became extremely hot. That point had been too much weakened by the great extent of front. The troops of the communities, of Corbez, Amiens, Compiègne, Arras, &c. observed the danger on that quarter, and advanced to protect the king. They were unequal to the skill and power of Otho and his troops, and were soon dissipated. The king's standard, the fleurs-de-lis, was lowered, as the signal of danger: Philip was dragged from his horse, and was in the hands of the enemy: Peter Tristan leaped from his horse, dealt deadly blows on those who held the royal person, and rescued him. The battle raged at this instant, and the crowd thickened on both sides around Philip: many were slain: a long pointed spear

VOL. III. L pierced

A. D. 1214. pierced the eye of Stephen de Longchamp, and he fell dead before his sovereign. Peter Malevicin, on the other hand, seized Otho's bridle, while Girard Scropha thrust a sword into his breast; the thickness of the armour rendered it ineffectual: a second thrust laid open the horse's skull, as he raised his head by accident before the breast of the emperor. The horse wheeled about, and sprung from the line. "The emperor," cried Philip, "has turned his back, and dare not re-
"turn." He mounted indeed another horse, and fled. William of Bar, being too eager in the pursuit, was surrounded; but was rescued by Thomas de St. Vallery, who commanded fifty horsemen and two thousand foot. On this the battle revived; but the imperial standard was taken, and carried to Philip.

The last of the confederates who remained on the field, was the count of Boulogne. He had endeavoured to dissuade the emperor against the engagement. This circumstance probably rendered him more active and assiduous in maintaining it. His manner of fighting was peculiar. He formed a circle of several men deep, around him; from this moveable kind of castle he issued, whenever he saw a favourable occasion of contest; and thither again, when fatigued and exhausted, he retired. Six of these guards only remained at the close of the battle. As he fought before them, a footman, unobserved, lifted up the metal cover of the horse, and plunged his sword into his side. The horse fell on the count's right thigh: his armour was so heavy, that his men were unable to relieve him; but

but it was also so close and impenetrable, that ^{A.D. 1214.} the enemy, whose prisoner he became, could not wound him.

These particulars I have related more fully in this engagement, to illustrate the manner of fighting in those times. Every baron, generally in the order of knighthood, was attended by his own vassals; some of them mounted in full armour on horseback, but the greater part on foot. Animated by a high sense of dignity and rank, they disdained to encounter an inferior; each fought his equal in rank and arms, and was often too regardless of footmen, who watched their opportunity, unobserved, of wounding the horse and overturning the rider. Inclosed in heavy armour, horsemen were, on the one hand, unwieldy, and incapable of rapid movements; but, on the other, they were almost invulnerable.

Thirty thousand Germans are said to have fallen in this engagement: four princes, five counts, twenty-five barons, each carrying a banner, and a great number of gentlemen, were taken prisoners.

The king's return was a continued triumph. The roads along which he passed, were lined with multitudes of people, raising loud acclamations; the streets of the cities were covered with tapestry. He was received in Paris with the most fervent congratulations of the people of all ranks, learned and unlearned, with bands of music, and ringing of the great bells. The scholars are particularly noticed, as bearing a great bulk in

A.D. 1214. the general multitude²¹. Seven days were spent in rejoicing and festivity.

Philip's mind, however, was more occupied with the prosecution of the advantages of this victory. He was aware of the intention of many in the provinces on the Loire to have revolted, in case of his defeat, and to have returned under the English government. Thither, therefore, he marched with haste, and by his very presence, with his victorious army, overawed the country, and established general order and tranquillity.

The emperor Otho lost all military character and respect: abandoned by the world, he retired to Brunswic, and lived some time in a monastery. His rival Frederic II. ascended the imperial throne, and at that period commenced an illustrious reign²².

Meantime, the critical state of England required peace; and Philip granted a truce for five years. The clergy, the nobles, and the people, despised their king. His late condescensions to the pope, particularly, on reflection exasperated them. The malcontents were headed by the primate Langton: he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of Henry the First's charter, a copy of which had been lately found, and made known. Roused by his eloquence and a sense of their wrongs, and

²¹ "Univerſa ſcholarium multitudo." Rigord, p. 223.

224.

²² Rigord, *Annal. de l'Empire*. Guilierm. Brit. Phil. encouraged

encouraged by their number and power, they solemnly bound themselves to insist on the restoration of their rights, and to support and defend one another till they succeeded in securing them. The interference and threatenings even of the pope did not dissolve their union, nor relax their energy; with sword in hand they demanded their rights, and by their courage and firmness obtained them. In the field of Run-

A.D. 1214.

English
Magna
Charta,
A.D. 1215.

namede, on the 19th of June, A. D. 1215, the king, John, signed and sealed the great charter of English liberty.

But John was inconstant and unfaithful. He became sullen, shunned the society of his nobles, retired to the Isle of Wight, invited foreigners into his service, obtained a papal bull annulling the late solemn charter; and, like an enemy rather than an English monarch, invaded the territories of his principal nobles with his foreign troops, pillaging and desolating the country, which had been lulled into a fatal security. Alarmed and exasperated, they proposed a desperate remedy: they offered the crown of England to Lewis, Philip's eldest son, if he would relieve and protect them.

Crown of
England
offered to
Lewis, Phi-
lip's son.

The temptation was too great to be refused by an ambitious prince; besides, in the present circumstances, his claim by his wife Blanche of Castille, grand-daughter, by her mother, of Henry II., was regarded. The French barons declared, that they would die in defence of their injured and oppressed neighbours, whom a faithless and infamous tyrant would enslave. The

A.D. 1215 threatening of the pope was treated with contempt. Twenty-five noble hostages were delivered to Philip, as a security for the safety of his son in England; and Lewis of France embarked in defence of English liberty. John was deserted by his mercenary troops, who, being mostly Flemish, refused to fight against the heir-apparent of their lord paramount the king of France. Opposition ceased: and, excepting Dover, all England seemed to have submitted to the invader; when the death of John totally changed the state of affairs.

Death of
king John,
19th Oct.
A.D. 1216.

The English preferred the right of hereditary succession, under certain restrictions, as the safest mode of preserving and maintaining the general constitution and peace of the kingdom. They transferred not their hatred of John, to the amiable and innocent Henry, his eldest son. They were jealous of the French: and the early imprudence of Lewis, in preferring his countrymen on all occasions, and their insolent boasts that they would soon enjoy all the honours of England, naturally disgusted the English. They turned from them with a becoming and reasonable indignation, and crowned Henry with due solemnity at Gloucester²³.

In a few months, Lewis found his influence decreasing fast in England. His endeavours both at sea and land to re-establish it, proved abortive. Lincoln, on the defence of which he

²³ Matth. Paris. * Gullierm. Brito.

seemed

seemed finally to hinge his success, was taken, A. D. 1216. and the French army totally routed. A French fleet, bringing over a reinforcement, was attacked, and defeated. Judging it high time to evacuate England, he concluded a peace with the earl of Pembroke, the protector; only stipulating an indemnity for his adherents, by which they were generously secured in their honours and fortunes, on the same footing with the rest of the nation: and thus ended the reign of Lewis for eighteen months in England.

His crusade against the Albigeois, which, in point of time, preceded his expedition to England, as it did not materially change the state of the country, nor at all affect the civil government, belongs rather to ecclesiastical history; and will of course be narrated, with the history of the tenets, character, and persecution of these people, in the next chapter.

If Philip ever intended to engage in this domestic crusade, as it may be called, he was finally prevented by his death, in consequence of a fever, on the 14th of July, A. D. 1223, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and forty-fourth of his reign. Death of Philip Augustus, A. D. 1223. On the occasion of his funeral at St. Denis, a dispute arose betwixt the papal legate and the archbishop of Rheims, respecting the right of performing mass over his corpse. The latter was supported by the French clergy, who were always jealous of papal encroachments on their privileges. But, as the former was obstinate, they agreed on an ingenious compromise: that

A. D. 1223. that both the archbishop and the legate should perform it, at the same instant, at two separate but adjacent altars; and that the attendant clergy, of whom there was a great number of all ranks, should give the responses, as if one person only was officiating.

Such was the end of one of the longest and most prosperous reigns in the history of France; a reign which recovered the monarchy from almost all the weakness and calamities to which the successors of Charlemagne and the feudal system had reduced it. As Philip's birth, so desirable after his father's third marriage without a son, obtained for him the gift of God: so his rapid, important, and extensive conquests; his subjection, in comparison of what it had been, of the aristocracy; his expulsion of the English; and his restoration of the crown to a high degree of respectability among the states of Europe, justly merited, and confirmed, to him the title of Augustus.

He introduced a considerable change in military affairs, which contributed much to the success and stability of his government. His suspicions of Richard's treachery, and of the assassins, led him to institute a corps of body guards, which from time to time were augmented, and constantly maintained. He imitated the king of England, in hiring the Brabançons, and afterwards in collecting and embodying the Ribauds, Cottereaux, &c. as a standing army. Thus, he both served his own ambition, and converted the

the disturbers of the country into its protectors and security; while the encouragement which he gave to engineers, also, gave him a success in sieges, which facilitated his conquests. A.D. 1223.

He enjoyed little leisure for the cultivation of literature himself; but he gave encouragement to literary men and institutions, and the university of Paris began to be much frequented, and flourish, in his reign.

Like other princes, who on the whole respected the clergy, he is extolled as religious. He was too ready to obey them, when it appeared to promote his political plans. He persecuted the Jews, to enrich his treasury. He would have engaged probably in the war against the Albigeois, if it had not been that he respected Raymond the count of Thoulouse, and hated the arrogant Montfort, with whom we shall become better acquainted in the next chapter. He countenanced, though he did not take a great share in, the crusades to Asia. He attempted twice the invasion and conquest of England. In his last attempt, as in the persecution of the Albigeois, indeed, he employed the agency of his son: he does not appear, however, to have done it from hypocrisy, as has been alleged; this was no prominent feature in his character. To a great mind, God only is formidable; and a well-informed mind knows that no disguise can impose on him.

SECT. VIII.

Reign of LEWIS VIII. A.D. 1223, to A.D. 1226.

A.D. 1223. **L**EWIS, who, during his father's lifetime, had given abundant evidence of military genius, was thirty-six years of age when he succeeded to the throne. His warlike reputation, his liberal temper, and the number of well-disciplined troops now under his command, rendered his accession easy and peaceful. With his queen Blanche, he was crowned at Rheims by William de Joinville, archbishop of that city.

War with
England;

Henry III. king of England, instead of attending on that occasion as a vassal of the crown of France, sent the archbishop of Canterbury to demand the restitution of Normandy, and the other territories which had been conquered during the preceding reign. Lewis resented both his neglect of attendance, and the insolence of his demand. He replied firmly, that he held these dominions both by right of conquest and of original superiority; that he had no objection to submit the question to the court of peers, which was composed of the crown vassals; that Henry had himself violated the late treaty, in not correcting the abuses of the English government, as he had engaged to do; and in exacting enormous ransoms from the French prisoners.

The

The mediation of the pope Honorius III. was ^{A.D. 1223.} interposed in vain. In the end of April, hostilities commenced. Savary de Mauleon, the head of an English faction in Poitou, having seized and shut himself up in Niort, was besieged by Lewis with a numerous army, and obliged to surrender. Though bound by the terms of this capitulation, not to carry arms against France, he went to Rochelle, which he again defended with great zeal and bravery against the king: but that city also he was forced to surrender, and escaped to England. Disappointed in the reception which he met with at that court, he returned to France, threw himself on the mercy of Lewis, and was generously pardoned and restored by him to his former rank and property.

Lewis was active, and experienced; his coun-^{successful.}sellors retained the spirit and sagacity of the former reign; his soldiers were trained and accustomed to war. Henry was young; his grand mareschal was lately dead; and his great ally, the emperor of Germany, had also died. Every unsuccessful event increased the decline of English influence in France; many of the nobles followed the current of fortune, came over to the court of Lewis, and did homage to him, rather than to Henry. In a word, the English again lost all footing in France. A new treaty was formed, by which a truce of four years was purchased, for thirty thousand marks of silver¹.

¹ Matth. Paris. Gesta Ludovici VIII. Nangij Chron. Le Gendre.

A D. 1223.

Pretender in
Flanders.

Meantime, Flanders was all in commotion, by the appearance of one who was, or pretended to be, count Baldwin, elected emperor of Constantinople twenty years ago, on the erection of what was called the kingdom of the Latins by the French crusaders. He was believed to have been afterwards taken prisoner, and put to death by order of the king of the Bulgarians. This person, however, insisted that he was the count; and such was his resemblance of him, that none almost, on seeing him and hearing his adventures, could expressly discredit him. The court of England, too, eagerly acknowledged him, in order to embroil the affairs of France. Joanna, the eldest daughter of the real count, expressly denied him, and remained assured that her father was dead; she threatened him, if he came into her power, with the most excruciating death: and as the Flemings, her people, took his part generally against her, she claimed the aid of her lord paramount Lewis. He immediately summoned the pretender before him at Perorme; and, having interrogated him more strictly, he was either unwilling, or unable to answer²; wherefore he was banished: but, returning to Valenciennes, he found himself deserted by his former friends. He assumed the appearance

² The two questions specified were: "Quis cum novum militem fecerat, aut ubi patri suo Philippo regi homagium præbuerat?" Chron. Gullielm. de Nangis. From this it seems probable, that the installation of knights and the performance of homage were registered. With these registers, his answers could have been compared.

then

then of a merchant, and attempted, in that disguise, to pass through Burgundy, where he was apprehended, and hanged. A. D. 1223.

The state of Languedoc next required the king's attention. The opinions and parties most generally known under the name of Albigenses, which agitated the country for so many years, will fall to be related and illustrated in the next chapter, being of an ecclesiastical nature. It is only necessary now to observe, that they were protected on the one hand by Raymond count of Thoulouse; and persecuted on the other by Simon de Montfort, as the agent and general of the church, which published a crusade against the heretics. The success of the crusaders, and the sufferings of the heretics, as they were called, were sufficiently conspicuous; but, since the death of Montfort, the scale had turned. The influence of the Montfort family declined; young Raymond was popular and active, and began to recover the territories which his father had lost in this religious war. The king opposed the recovery of his estates; and the pope favoured and supported him. He was understood indeed to have abandoned his father's friends, the heretics; and, in a council assembled for the occasion at Paris, by the authority of Conrad, the papal legate, he was declared a good catholic; the indulgences granted to the crusaders were revoked; and Lewis was addressed on the subject, as the mere tool of the church.

He

A.D. 1213.

He became indignant: he denied that Raymond was a sincere catholic; and such was his influence at Rome, that he prevailed on the pope to declare the young count excommunicated, as still in his heart regarding and encouraging the Albigenſes. The clergy took part with the king, and offered him a great ſhare of their revenues for five years, to defray the expence of the war againſt Raymond and hereſy.

A. D. 1226.

Under the mask of religious zeal, Lewis was actuated with the ambition of re-uniting the whole South of France to the crown. Regardless of juſtice, and of the duty which he owed to one of the firſt peers of the realm; uninterreſted in his near relation, and one of the beſt and moſt faithful of his ſubjects, he was altogether governed by a mean and cruel policy, too common to princes of every age. A council was³ aſſembled at Paris in January A. D. 1226³, and war was reſolved on againſt Raymond. Raymond was excommunicated, and his territories were granted by papal donation to Lewis. A cruſade was publiſhed, offering forgiveness of ſin, and full indulgence, to every ſoldier who enliſted under the conſecrated banner, as had been uſual in the ſacred expeditions to Aſia; and a hundred thouſand livres of the tithes of the church were decreed for five years, to defray the expence of the war.

³ Acta Concilior. Harduini, tom. vii. p. 141, 142.

Some of the bishops, indeed, murmured at the injustice of condemning Raymond unheard, and at passing a sentence so severe on a prince who was otherwise so great and respectable. The legate, however, thought it necessary to extirpate heresy; and this appeared impracticable, without gratifying the ambition and avarice of the king. Now was seen the effect of ecclesiastical zeal, mingled with a warlike spirit and the contagion of example. Sixty thousand men at arms, and infantry without number, enlisted in this warfare. Bourges was the rendezvous, the fourth Sabbath after Easter. At the time appointed, Lewis appeared at the head of this army. A. D. 1226.

The greater part of the south country dared not even to wait a formal summons. Nîmes, and the other cities and castles in that quarter, sent an offer of submission.

Raymond, abandoned by his allies and many of his vassals, did not despond, but took every precaution, which, in his circumstances, wisdom could suggest, or vigour employ. Knowing the relentless spirit of the church, and the avaricious temper of the king, he believed any offer of accommodation to be vain. He removed and destroyed the provisions, which might have fallen into the hands of the enemy: he hoped that want and dissension might ere long disperse this vast army, which a temporary enthusiasm had assembled. He duly fortified such places of strength as it seemed probable he could garrison and maintain. He attempted not to oppose the enemy

A. D. 1126. enemy by a regular army in the field, but to harass them on their march, and intercept their convoys of provision.

Siege of
Avignon.

Lewis, having advanced as far as Avignon, laid close siege to that city. For three months he made no impression on it: military engines were wanting; those which had been designed for it, were intercepted. Enthusiasm cooled by such a delay; disappointment followed, in proportion to the hope entertained, that this vast army was irresistible, and that a single action would terminate the war. Scarcity, and the heat of the season, produced disease; great numbers died. The king yielded to impatience, and ordered an assault: three thousand crowded on a bridge, fell with it, and most of them perished*. The besieged took courage, and made some successful sallies; they knew that they were not destitute of friends even in the crusading army. On the expiring of the usual period of feudal service, they hoped that their assailants would of course diminish. Thibaud, count of Champagne, notwithstanding the king's remonstrance and threatenings, intimated that his forty days' service were accomplished, and withdrew. The city, however, was so pressed, that it was forced to submit. The terms imposed by the conqueror were, that its fossés should be filled up, its walls levelled, and three hundred turreted⁵ houses demolished.

This

* Matthew Paris.

⁵ These seem to have been the lodgings of people of great distinction; turrets were the usual appendages of the castles only

This conquest is said to have cost the crusade ^{A. D. 1226.} twenty-two thousand men: the author of the general history of Languedoc surely under-rates them, when he affirms that two thousand only perished.

From Avignon, Lewis marched without opposition to within four leagues of Thoulouse. The season being far advanced, and that city very large and strongly fortified, the siege of it was delayed till the following spring. He had dismissed a great part of his army, and was returning to Paris, when he was taken ill at Montpensier. He felt himself dying: he assembled ^{Death of the king.} as many of the nobles and clergy as could attend, and solemnly bound them to acknowledge, and without delay to crown, his son Lewis as his successor. He died on the eighteenth of November, A. D. 1226, in the fourth year of his reign. He left five sons, Lewis, Robert, John, Alphonso, and Charles; and one daughter, Isabella.

By a will, dated June 1225, more than a year ^{His will.} before his death, he had settled the whole kingdom on Lewis, excepting some estates, which he bequeathed to his other children.—To Robert and his heirs, whom failing to return to the crown, all the county of Artois. To Alphonso,

only of knights and principal barons. Chronicon Gulielmi de Nangis. The author of the Gesta Ludovici VIII. says, 300 domus turrales were demolished. And in other things I find he is more accurate than William of Nangis, who affirms that they were one hundred only.

A. D. 1226. the counties of Anjou and Maine. To Charles, the county of Poitou, and all Auvergne. He had destined John, his fifth son, for the church. He left all his money in gold and silver to his successor Lewis, for the use of the government. His moveable goods were to be sold for payment of his debts and legacies, and for compensation of such injuries as he had committed. He left thirty thousand livres to his queen Blanche; and twenty thousand livres to his daughter. To a great number of different abbeys and hospitals he left several sums, amounting to upwards of fifty thousand livres⁶.

His character.

It is not enough, as Père Daniel observes, to say of this prince, that he was the son and the father of a great king. He gave proofs that he wanted neither talents nor activity himself: we cannot fail now to acknowledge that they were ill employed in the service of the church, in the invasion of England, and in the persecution of the Albigenes; but allowance ought to be made for the superstition of the times, and the education of such a prince: he believed that, in serving the church, he was serving God; and he was trained under his father to think it essential to his sovereignty, not only that France should be held entire by him, without the partition of either natives or foreigners, but that the English, if possible, should themselves be rendered vassals, at least, of the French crown.

⁶ Thresor des Chart. Père Daniel, tom. ii.

The number of hospitals in those times is almost incredible.

A. D. 1226.

Number of
hospitals

In his will he mentions,—

200 hôtel de Dieu ;

2000 hôtel for lepers ;

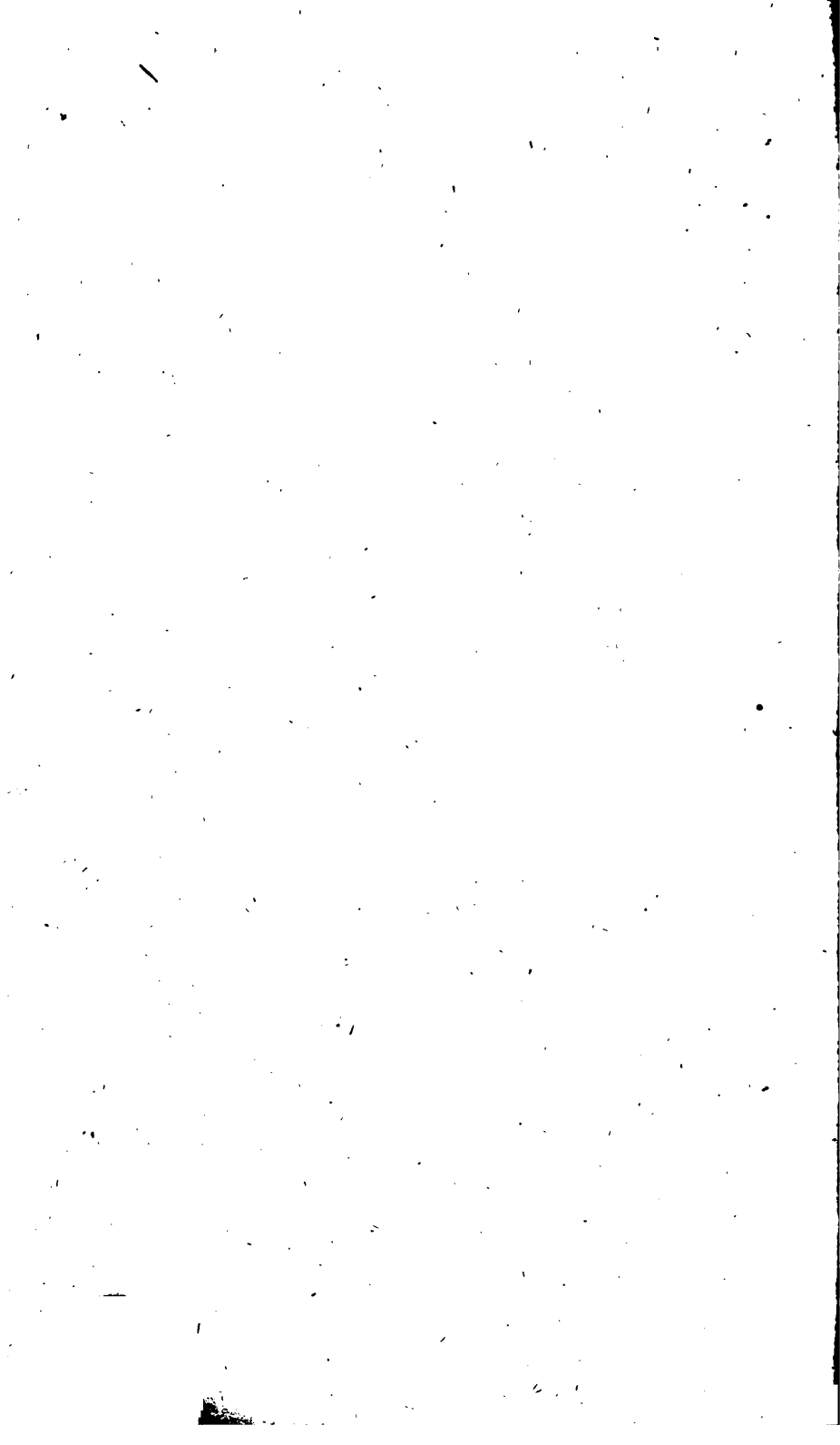
60 abbeys of the order of Premontré ;

40 of the order of St. Victor ; and

60 of the order of Cistercians.

and abbeys.

How great then must have been the whole number over the kingdom !



CHAP. II.

The History of Religion in France, from the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987, to the Accession of St. Lewis, A. D. 1226.

SECT. I.

Of Religious Doctrines and Controversy.

IN reviewing this gloomy period of church-history, including little more than two centuries, the mind is somewhat cheered with that faint dawn of light which ushered in the morning of the Reformation. Abelard, by venturing to exercise his own reasoning powers, and by teaching others, though with restraint and caution, to imitate him, began to diminish the influence and use of the authority of the church and of the fathers in the explanation of doctrines. Berenger dared, but with unsteadiness of resolution, to expose the monstrous and now mature growth of belief and veneration, attached to the ordinance of the eucharist. The Waldenses—driven from the sequestered valleys of the Southern Alps, where they had flourished long in innocence and peace; and by the avarice, ambition, and unrelenting persecution of the bishops of Turin and of Rome, being dispersed over Europe—disseminated the doctrines of the gospel in
M 3 their

their native simplicity wherever they went ; and, under new names, formed sects, which at last obtained the names of the Reformed and Protestant Churches. From this approaching lustre of day, the eye reluctantly returns, to examine more minutely the obscure, undefined, and less interesting objects and events which preceded it.

Morals.

Doctrines and morals have undoubtedly a reciprocal influence. Religious fear awes, religious love and gratitude constrain, and religious hope cheers and elevates, the heart. As the doctrines whence they spring, succeed in assimilating the temper and manners of men to their spirit, they will become more the precious objects of their faith and attachment. The belief of christianity is strengthened and confirmed by the practice of it : pure morals are favourable to the native simplicity of christian doctrines. A depraved heart, on the other hand, cannot relish pure religious principles ; it seldom feels itself capable even of the flattery of hope ; it is callous to the glow of the pious affections of gratitude and love : fear rather excites resentment and aversion, than checks vice ; or it expends itself on the idle ceremonies of superstition, as the means of atoning for criminal gratifications : it hates the truth, which is adverse to its prevalent desires ; and will not come to the light, lest they be reprov'd. The corresponding corruption of doctrines and morals may, accordingly, be generally traced in the history of the church.

That there were many good men among the clergy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, plain

plain and pious individuals, who rested their faith on the simple doctrines, and regulated their conduct by the holy laws, of the gospel, we ought not to deny; for, in every age, there are many examples of sagacity which cannot be deluded, and of simplicity which silently reject every thing ostentatious and unreasonable.

But the faith and morals of many of the clergy during this period were certainly far from being pure, and becoming the professors and teachers of christianity. They confined their attention much to exterior and political relations. They were jealous of any want of subordination among themselves, and of any interference of laymen with what they deemed clerical privileges and duties. They employed discipline to enforce, not real holiness, but religious rites and forms, and a partial semblance of morality. Vices and crimes were believed to be expiated by penances: tedious penances might be commuted for donations, and agreeable journeys, under the name of pilgrimages, to popular tombs and churches, to Rome and to Jerusalem.

The clergy were generally wealthy and luxurious. Many of them entertained the idea that it was necessary to seem austere and sanctimonious in public only, and that their mortifications on particular occasions were a sufficient apology and atonement for general and gross sensuality. The indulgence of the bodily appetites is frequently associated with an imposing kind of generosity; but nothing tends more in fact to relax all the great principles of morals.

The inconsistency and vices of the clergy could not be always concealed; when discovered, they shed a baneful influence over society: many of them were at no pains even to conceal the scandalous gratification of their appetites and temper. As if they were ashamed of a religious profession, they studied to rival the gentlemen and nobles, not only by divesting themselves of almost every appearance of their being churchmen, but by running to excess in levity, intemperance, and lewdness.

The celibacy of the clergy, which the church thought it her interest to promote, contributed to their licentiousness. It had long been thought expedient to discourage them from marrying, that, by disengaging them from the world, and its social and domestic relations, they might devote themselves and their property entirely to the church. It became a subject of much contention between the Greek and Latin churches: the former required the marriage of the clergy; the latter disapproved it. In the council of Bourges, A. D. 1031, it was ordained, that priests who cohabit with their wives, shall be only readers and chanters; and that deacons and sub-deacons shall not in future be allowed to keep either wives or concubines. The council of Rouen, A. D. 1072, ordained, that priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, who are married, shall not enjoy any church-revenues, nor dispose of them. The council of Rome, A. D. 1074, being the second year of the pontificate of Gregory VII., decreed, that all the sacerdotal orders should abstain from marriage; and that such

such of them as were already married, should immediately abandon their wives, or relinquish the priestly office. These decrees excited no small tumults and seditions over Europe: to some the separation was exquisitely painful; to society it was the occasion of much temporary distraction and disorder, and certainly interfered with numerous civil privileges; but the church was firm, and the celibacy of the clergy became an established law of the church¹.

As celibacy became established, concubinage increased; some indulged in it secretly, others more openly. The reiterated attempts of the church and of particular bishops to prevent and arrest the prevalence of this kind of licentiousness, raised the most violent contentions and persecutions against pope Gregory, and those who, like him, aimed at reformation and purity.

The discipline employed to correct and reform both clergy and laity, was either too light, and made no impression; or too severe, and hence impracticable. Excommunications and interdicts were so awful, and threatened such sufferings, as to produce desperation, or universal sympathy: but, to repeat psalms; to bend the knee so many times; to inflict on one-self thirty, forty, or even a hundred stripes; to give certain alms;

¹ Muratori Script. Rer. Ital. tom. iv. p. 36. Mabillon. Annal. Bened. tom. v. p. 634. Muscum Ital. tom. i. p. 128.

to pay a fine, or, which is the same thing, to purchase an indulgence; to perform a pilgrimage to Rome, and such like; were hardships not too great to be endured for the enjoyment of criminal pursuits, and the gratification of sensual and vicious passions.

Doctrines.

The doctrines of the church in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were generally founded on the scriptures; but many of the clergy were ignorant, and regardless of them. Latin versions of the Old and New Testament were numerous; and from the frequency of schools in cathedral churches and great towns, many of the laity as well as clergy had access, if they chose, to the sacred writings. They were positively locked up from the common people only. Their vulgar tongue, and the language in which they composed and sung profane songs, it was alleged, did not become the sanctity of the word of God.

Sermons, however, were addressed to them in their mother-tongue; but if we may judge of them from some of those of St. Bernard, and others, which have escaped the wreck of time, they were generally controversial, often unedifying, and sometimes ridiculous².

² "Ex Deo & homine cataplasma confectum est, quod sanaret omnes infirmitates tuas. Contusæ sunt autem, et commixtæ hæ duæ species in utero Virginis, tanquam in mortariolo: Sancto Spiritu, tanquam pistillo, illas suaviter commiscente." St. Bernardi Serm. iii. in Vigil. Nativ. edit. D. Mabillon. tom. i. p. 771.

The authority of the fathers was more consulted than the authority of the inspired scriptures, and more regard was paid to ecclesiastical canons than divine commandments. Yet from some epistles of those times we have reason to think, that there were some plain good men who preached the gospel almost, and as far as they were permitted, in its native simplicity³. And there is no doubt, not only that many of the laity were able to read the scriptures, since Eloisa could even write Latin with elegance; but that they shewed a considerable disposition to read them, since about this period we meet with frequent canonical prohibitions against the reading of them⁴.

The precise creeds of the church during this period, we learn from the professions of faith made by the clergy at their ordinations, and from the decrees of councils. Gerbert's confession of faith, when admitted to the archbishopric of Rheims, was as follows: "I believe in one God, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: that the persons of the Trinity are equally God, co-essential, co-substantial, co-eternal, and co-omnipotent: that the Son only was incarnate; divine, as begotten of the Father; human, as born of his Mother; having a true body, and a reasonable soul; two natures in one person: that he actually suffered, died, and rose again; and will return, to judge the living and the dead:

³ Sti Fulberti Episcop. Carnot. Ep. 1. Ivo Episc. Carnot. Ep. passim.

⁴ Acta Concil. tom. vi. part 2. Colon. & Tolosan.

" that

“ that the scriptures of the Old and New Testament are divinely inspired : that the Devil apostatized, not necessarily (*per conditionem*), but voluntarily : that this body of our flesh shall be raised up, and not another, at the last day : that there shall be a final judgment, when every one shall receive according to the deeds done in the body : that marriage and second marriages are lawful ; that penitents ought to be restored to the communion of the church : that all sins, both original and actual, are washed away by baptism : that there is no salvation but for those who are members of the Catholic church : and that there are only four general councils⁵. ”

The decree of the fourth Lateran council, A. D. 1215, concerning the Catholic faith, is the same in substance with Gerbert's confession, excepting the two articles respecting the Devil's apostacy, and the general councils, which it omits ; but it contains one additional article concerning the bread and wine in the sacrament : that they are changed, or as the phrase was now for the first, or nearly the first, time publicly used, transubstantiated into the true body and blood of Christ⁶.

⁵ Professio Fidei Gerberti. Acta Concilior. tom. vi. p. 725. Edit. Paris. 1714.

⁶ “ Cujus corpus & sanguis in sacramento altaris sub speciebus panis & vini veraciter continentur ; transubstantiatis, pane in corpus, & vino in sanguinem, potestate divina. ” Act. Concil. tom. vii. p. 17.

“ Catholicæ & apostolicæ fidei symbolum firmiter tenemus. ” Act. Concil. Rotomag, A. D. 1050, tom. vi. p. 1.

For several ages past, large and numerous quotations from the fathers served every purpose of illustration and argument. The introduction of reason into the schools of theology, formed now a new æra; but any recent liberty, till the mind be somewhat accustomed to it, and especially after great restraint, is always liable to be abused. Authority was too fastidiously rejected; ratiocination, such as it then existed, was ostentatiously exhibited. Axioms were assumed without examination: terms were employed without precision: distinctions were asserted without showing any proper ground of difference. The confidence of authority was not indeed altogether rejected; but it was transferred from Augustine to Aristotle. To subtle minds, the field of controversy became now boundless. Men of more fancy and eloquence than sound judgment, were capable of maintaining false and foolish opinions, with all the plausibility and ardour due to truth.

A DISPOSITION to subtle speculations in literature has generally given rise to metaphysical controversies in the Christian church. This was the effect of the Aristotelian philosophy in the eleventh century. Contro-
verfy.

Plato had taught that ideas are not conceptions received from material objects, but created on purpose for our contemplation. Aristotle neither agreed with him in this doctrine, nor
dred

Nominalists
and Real-
ists.

dared altogether to deny it. He affirmed that ideas and matter are eternally united, and that from this necessary union proceed our conceptions of existing objects. The Stoics ridiculed both these systems, and asserted that ideas are neither eternal, nor necessarily united to matter, but are wholly the effect of the human mind. The eclectic philosophers attempted to reconcile these opinions; but by frittering them down towards common sense, rendered them more unintelligible. The Aristotelian principles, however, prevailed, and were adopted in the schools of this period, by those teachers especially called Realists. They taught that ideas, which they also called universals—that is, abstract notions of genera and species—do not exist in the mind independently, but as eternally united to matter, and to individual bodies. That Cæsar and Cicero, for example, individuals of the human race, each possessed the essential qualities of human nature, from which our ideas of them are derived.

Rosceline.

Rosceline, a clerk of the church of Compiègne, a public teacher, and one of the acutest logicians of the age, maintained, on the contrary, the opinion of the Stoics, that ideas have no necessary union with matter and individuals; but that they, and the names which we assign to them, are the representations of those things, whether they exist or not, which we mean to describe or signify. This opinion he introduced into the subject of the Trinity; and taught, that the three persons in the godhead are three things, as different from one another as three
angels

angels are: that there is, however, but one will and power; otherwise that the Father and the Holy Ghost must be incarnate. In other words, he denied that any of the persons of the god-head could be incarnate, and suffer, without including the rest, or without supposing them three individual objects⁷.

When it was alleged against him, that his opinion co-incided either on the one hand with the Patropassions, or on the other with the Tritheists, he hesitated not to affirm that he believed the latter to be the truth. Might they not, according to his own system, be nominally three? "No," he replied, "they belonged to the class of realities, and were substantially three."

This heresy was condemned by the council of Soissons, A. D. 1092, and, contrary to the usual effects of synodical interpositions, the sentence appears to have been successful in suppressing it. Anselm indeed, having learned that he and Lanfranc were represented to be of the same opinion on this subject with Rosceline, wrote in their own vindication. Ives, bishop of Chartres, afterwards watched the conduct of Rosceline, reproved him for continuing to teach the doc-

⁷ "Roscelinus clericus dicit in Deo tres personas esse
 "tres res ab invicem separatas: sicut sunt tres angeli: ita
 "tamen ut una sit voluntas, & potestas: aut patrem, &
 "spiritum sanctum esse incarnatum, & tres Deos vere posse
 "dici, si usus admitteret." Acta Concilior. tom. vi. p. 17.
 p. 1695. Sueffionense, A. D. 1092.

trine which he had judicially abjured, and is even said to have converted him *.

The famous Abelard, having been accused by Rosceline in the council of Soissons as unsound in the faith, like himself, on the subject of the Trinity, thought it necessary to write to the bishop of Paris on the occasion, requesting him to appoint a time and place in which he might fairly meet his accuser, publicly confront him, and vindicate himself †.

P. Abelard. Peter Abelard, a native of Palais, near Nantes, was born A. D. 1079. In his youth his temper appeared mild, and his manners were gentle. He early shewed an aversion from the profession of arms, which was then common to gentlemen of any rank, and devoted himself to learning. His imagination was active, and his judgment acute: under the most celebrated teachers of the age, Rosceline and Champeaux, he made rapid progress in the scholastic philosophy. Success inspired him with vanity and courage, and the mild and gentle Abelard was transformed into a petulant and zealous disputant. Even while he was the scholar of William de Champeaux, an eminent teacher at that time in Paris, he ventured publicly to question his opinions, and to contend with him in argument. At the age of twenty-two, his ambition prompted him to become the rival

* Epist. 7. Ivonis Carnot. Episcop. ad Roscelin.

† Petri Abaylardi Epist. 21. ad Gaufredum Episc. Paris.

of his master as a public teacher, and he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectation.

The philosophy of the times having become familiar to him, and every rival having yielded to his superior talents and eloquence, he sought new objects of study and ambition in theology. This, he was not aware, was sacred ground, on which his conduct was more critical, and on which, being watched by the keen and malignant eyes of envy, jealousy, and power, he was liable to various misinterpretations and danger. He studied with ardour; and his ingenuity seemed to give an air of novelty to some of the most interesting subjects of Christianity. He introduced analogy, more than had been done during the preceding ages, into theological illustrations: and he compared power, wisdom, and goodness, to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whose union constitutes perfection. He represented the co-eternity of the persons, by the light of the sun, whose rays co-exist with their source¹⁰.

Novelty of expression was misconstrued into novelty of idea: the author was generally admired, but his envious rivals, the professors of Rheims, Albericus and Lotulphus, accused him to the archbishop of heresy: he was summoned to appear before the council of Soissons A. D. 1120, Council of Soissons.

¹⁰ Introductio ad Theologiam; Opera Abeilardi. He was particularly blamed for the following comparison, on which perhaps the false charge of Tritheism was founded:—
“Sicut eadem oratio est propositio, assumptio, & conclusio;
“ita eadem essentia est Pater, & Filius, & Spiritus Sanctus.”
Otho Frisingensis de Gest. Frederic. lib. i. c. 47. Acta Concilior. tom. vi. p. 2. p. 1103.

at which the pope's legate presided; and he was charged with Tritheism. After much labour, however, his prosecutors could not find materials in his book to substantiate their charge. The council then debated, whether they ought not to suspend all farther proceedings on this subject, on account of which they had been so rashly convened. In this dilemma, Geoffrey, the venerable bishop of Chartres, said: "You all know the learning, ingenuity, and fame of this man, and the multitude of his disciples and admirers over the kingdom. Were you through prejudice to oppress him, which I cannot suppose, you would justly move the indignation of many, who are zealous and able to defend him; and considering especially, that in the book now before us we have found nothing to justify the accusation laid against him, is there not reason to think that envy is his principal accuser? the higher the mountain, the more readily it attracts the lightning. In this case, the farther we proceed against him, the more we shall raise his fame; and the more, I fear, we shall diminish our own. — As the rumour against him seems groundless, it will quickly cease, and we may judge him by his future conduct. But if you are still disposed to try him, let his book be produced, and let himself be sifted before us. Our law, as Nicodemus said, judgeth no man, till it be heard what he shall say in his own vindication."

To this counsel it was replied, that it would be dangerous to afford such a man as Abelard an opportunity of disputation before them, knowing
his

his superior ingenuity and eloquence. It was then moved, that the cause should be tried, not in this synod, which consisted of a few members only, but should be adjourned to the abbey of St. Denis, where a more numerous and learned meeting should be called. This motion the prosecutors overruled, by whispering that it was disgraceful to them as a synod, to have met expressly on this business, and to abandon it: that it would be a real victory to this vain man, who, instead of being humbled, as they proposed, would rise in triumph over them. The archbishop and the legate allowed themselves to be persuaded finally to condemn Abelard, not for any tenets which the book contained, but for having taught publicly, and for having published his book without the permission of the church, and the sanction of the Roman pontiff. He was ordered into the council; and, without any examination or discussion, he was peremptorily commanded to throw his book with his own hand into the fire. He was required to profess his faith in the words of the Athanasian Creed, and ordained to be imprisoned in the abbey of St. Medard¹¹. In a few days, however, the legate's severity relaxed: he was conscious of the injurious procedure of the synod, and gave directions to liberate Abelard from his confinement,

The mind of Abelard was sore with the attempts of envy to blast his fame; but he con-

¹¹ Hist. Calamit. c. 9, 10. Acta Concilior. tom. vi. p. 2. p. 1194-6.

tinued to teach, and occasionally to publish his writings, without any material occurrence, for twenty years; when a new and unexpected attack was made on him, the effects of which terminated only with his life.

Abbot of
Thierri.

William, abbot of Thierri, was not entitled as a rival to be jealous of Abelard, for he was far inferior to him; but he was one of those prosecutors whose industry was goaded by malignant zeal, and guided, not by native genius, but by tracing the footsteps of former hunters in the pursuit of heresy. The embers of the fire, he observed, were still alive, in which the council of Soissons had burnt the theology of Abelard, or rather the introduction to it, for his theology was afterwards published, and was now censured. This abbot hoped to re-ignite them, and, by their reflected light, to distinguish himself in the church. He collected thirteen articles from Abelard's works, by which he proposed to demonstrate him to be a heretic: and he sent them to Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, from whose youthful vanity, eloquence, and popularity, he promised himself great support.

St. Bernard.

Bernard, born A. D. 1091, near Dijon in Burgundy, of an ancient and noble family, was a man of uncommon abilities, naturally simple and modest, but more eloquent than learned. His temper, which was more severe than it at first appeared to be, united with his mode of education to fortify him against the love of pleasure, and the various seductions to which his rank, his handsome person, and otherwise engaging manners,

ners, exposed him. The love of virtue, the desire of respect, and the pride of deserving it, all concurred, with a considerable degree of enthusiasm, to animate him with the ambition of becoming a reformer.

He was but two-and-twenty years of age when he entered the monastery of Citéaux, whose rule of discipline accorded most with his own rigid principles. The degree of his austerity affected his health. He was appointed abbot, A. D. 1115, to the new monastery of Clairvaux. The active duties of this eminent station were beneficial to his constitution, and made him known to the world. His persuasive eloquence charmed wherever he preached: he was even believed to work miracles; and the enthusiasm and vanity of the man might impose on himself. As the leading features of his character were zeal for orthodoxy, and ambition to reform the manners of the clergy, he seemed to the abbot of Thierri an important auxiliary in reviving the persecution against Abelard.

Bernard read the articles of accusation sent him, and rashly trusted, without sufficient examination, that they were just; with no small presumption, under the mask of apparent candour, he met with Abelard, who was now somewhat advanced in years, and, not a little soured with disappointment and suffering, stated the articles of error with which he was charged, and required him to retract them. Abelard looked on the youth with contempt, and, without deigning to answer him, withdrew.

The zealot was naturally provoked; and, as private and mild measures had failed, he resolved to adopt the most public and severe, to humble and reclaim this haughty heretic. He knew the power of his eloquence, the fame of his sanctity, and the unbounded influence of his popularity. He represented Abelard in Italy as well as in France in the most odious colours, as an Arius, a Pelagius, a Nestorius, a Herod, and a very monster in error and vice¹².

Abelard, now abbot of St. Gildas, was not ignorant of this defamation; nor, though he knew the danger of contending with such an enemy, was he disposed any longer patiently to bear it. He wanted only an opportunity of trying once more publicly those talents, which on former occasions had proved his honour and defence.

Council of
Sens.

The ceremony of translating bones and relics to a cathedral church, was generally attended by all the clergy, not only of that, but of other adjacent dioceses. Such a translation at Sens he proposed to attend, and there to state his grievances and attempt his vindication. The archbishop, to whom he made this proposal, encouraged him. Bernard, who was summoned to the meeting and contest, which betwixt two such antagonists was likely to have been most interesting, felt his inferiority, and shrunk from the contest. The other, probably too much elated, could not conceal it, excited the resent-

¹² Bernardi Epist. 326. 331. 336. 337.

ment of his antagonist, and overcame his timidity. Bernard changed his mind, and went to Sens on the day appointed.

The meeting was one of the most illustrious of that kind. It was attended by Lewis king of France, and many of the nobles: by archbishops, bishops, abbots, monks, and professors of schools, in great numbers. The first day was spent in the ceremony of the translation of bones. On the second, after all were assembled, with unusual expectation the two rivals entered.

Bernard rose with a modesty and grace which engaged favour and attention: "I bear no malice," said he, "against this man; but since he has published errors, which have come to my knowledge, I ought not to conceal them. They are contained in this paper;" (which was handed to the president:) "let him answer, or deny them."

They were:—That there is a gradation in the persons of the Trinity: that the Holy Ghost is not consubstantial with the Father and the Son: that the devil never had any power over man: that Jesus Christ became man, not to redeem but to teach: that the Holy Ghost is the soul of the world: that Jesus Christ, being God and man, is not properly God: that we are free agents, and without grace are capable of virtue: that in the Lord's Supper the elements are not wholly changed: that the punishment, and not the guilt, of sin is derived from Adam: that

volition is necessary to constitute sin : and that it is the effect of desire, of ignorance, of pleasure, and of external objects, as the instruments of Satan : that the objects of faith are things invisible : that God cannot do those things which are impossible : and that Jesus did not descend into Hell.

These, it is to be observed, were not the opinions of Abelard, but so represented by his adversaries the abbots of Thierri and Clairvaux, and founded on misconstrued passages extracted from his works. The tide of prejudice, however, running high against him, through the popularity of his great opponent, accusation was but another word, he found, for conviction.

With dismay, Abelard beheld the great respect of the assembly for Bernard, when he arose and spoke. His apprehensions were increased by every succeeding circumstance ; it was thought that he began even to fear popular tumult and violence, whatever were the issue of his cause, whether he acquired the victory over his adversary or not. While the paper containing extracts of his supposed errors was reading, Abelard interrupted it, and with a faltering voice and manner surprised the meeting, by appealing to Rome. The paper, however, was read ; Bernard, now confident, was fully heard, and on the conclusion of his speech, a sentence of condemnation was founded, that the opinions which the paper contained were heretical.

The

The victor's next aim was to employ all his art and influence with equal success at Rome. He wrote to the pope, not only in his own name, which was well-known and highly respected there, but in the name of the bishops of Sens and Rheims. Address, argument, acuteness, declamation, virulence, all were employed against the now humbled and timid appellant¹³.

Without waiting the appearance or receiving the answer of Abelard, the pope declared himself satisfied with the information which he had got, and confirmed the sentence of the council of Sens; adding, "As a heretic we impose on Abelard perpetual silence, and ordain that he and his disciples be excommunicated; that he shall burn his works, and be imprisoned in a monastery¹⁴."

Abelard had entered the sixty-first year of his age. He was impatient to visit Rome, and to try the effect of his presence to mitigate the rigour of his sentence; but being infirm and afflicted, he was apprehensive of the consequence of the fatigue of so long a journey, and of the severity of his reception from a prejudiced and haughty pontiff. He had not therefore proceeded far when his strength and courage failed him, and he found it necessary to request lodging and refreshment from the venerable abbot of the monastery of Clugni.

¹³ Bernardi Epist. 189.

¹⁴ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiv. p. 556.

Peter the
Venerable.

Peter Maurice was born in Auvergne, of the ancient family of Maurice, or Montboissier. He was educated a monk at Clugni, was promoted to the priory of Vezelay, and, before he reached thirty years of age, was made abbot of the monastery of Clugni. Abelard knew enough of his character to presume on his hospitality. "I am Peter Abelard," said he, as he met the good abbot; "I am in distress, and need repose." The good man's heart was penetrated with these words: he conducted him to a chamber, and, in his manner as well as in his accommodation and refreshments, shewed him that he was heartily welcome. "I am happy," said he, taking Abelard by the hand, "to enjoy a man of whom I have heard so much." He entreated him to remain. Though the number of monks sometimes exceeded two hundred, yet the buildings and revenue were so great, that three kings, with their respective retinue, once lodged in the monastery of Clugni, without dislodging any of the monks. Abelard felt no hesitation to accept this offer of hospitality; and the kindness of the order, and high respect of the abbot and brethren, rendered his situation most comfortable and edifying.

After some time a reconciliation was effected, by the intervention of Rainardus, abbot of Cîteaux, betwixt Abelard and Bernard. The former was persuaded to visit the latter, when a full explanation took place, and something even like friendship was formed.

By the mediation of the abbot of Clugni the pope also was softened; the sentence which he had pronounced against Abelard being suspended, he was permitted to spend the remainder of his days at Clugni, where he died on the twenty-first of April, A. D. 1142, in the sixty-third year of his age. Death of
Abelard.

Abelard certainly possessed considerable talents; but he appears more indebted on the whole to remarkable incidents for his celebrated fame, than to extraordinary genius. He was fonder of controversy than of science; more addicted to logic than the study of nature, and more desirous of literary reputation than of real utility. His peculiar circumstances as the private teacher of Eloisa, tempted him to indulgences base and criminal. He seems afterwards to have possessed more intellect than sensibility: he was selfish and opinionative. If we read his letters, and compare them with those of Eloisa, one of which will be found in the Appendix at the end of this volume, we shall be disposed to conclude against his generosity, and to believe that he was generally governed by vanity, selfishness, and ambition. His character.

His last and best earthly friend, Peter, the good abbot of Clugni, has drawn his character probably in too high colours. "He was," says he, "the Socrates of France, the Plato of Italy, and the Aristotle of the schools. To his predecessors in the walks of philosophy, he was equal, or superior. Confessed by all to be the master and model of eloquence, he
" charmed

“ charmed by the variety of his talents, and
 “ convinced by the subtlety of his reasoning; but
 “ his life was truly transcendent, when, clothed
 “ in the habit of Clugni and professing its rule,
 “ he became the true disciple of Christ. Here
 “ happily terminating the last scene of a long
 “ life, he left us, full of hope that his eternal
 “ habitation would be with the wise and vir-
 “ tuous ¹⁵.”

Transub-
stantiation.

TILL the middle of the eleventh century, the
 controversy concerning transubstantiation or the
 conversion of the elements of bread and wine in
 the Lord's Supper, by the consecration-prayer,
 into the body and blood of Christ, was treated
 freely, and without restraint. No council nor
 authority had interposed, to dictate or prescribe
 on one side or the other. The church was
 disposed on the whole to maintain the doctrine
 of Paschasius Radbert, as stated in the third
 chapter of the preceding book of this History,
 that the bread and wine are substantially changed
 in the sacrament. In opposition to this doctrine,
 Berenger, president of the public school at
 Tours, and afterwards archbishop of Angers,
 one of the most able and exemplary men of his
 A.D. 1045. time, maintained with Johannes Scotus, that the
 bread and wine are not changed, but retain the

¹⁵ Pet. Cluniac. Epist. Hist. of the Lives of Abbeillard
 and Heloise; by the Rev. Joseph Berington; 4to. 1788.

same

same qualities after as before consecration, and are mere symbols, or material representations of the death of Christ, and its spiritual effects, which we contemplate by faith. This rational and scriptural account of the Eucharist was impugned both in France and Germany, and condemned in the council of Rome, which was convened by pope Leo IX. A. D. 1050, and in the council of Paris, which was assembled the same year by Henry I. king of France. Undismayed by the sentences of these councils, which he declined to attend, Berenger persisted in maintaining, and even in teaching, though more cautiously, his opinions. In proportion to his success, and the avidity with which his doctrines were imbibed, his opponents became jealous and virulent. A council was held at Tours A. D. 1055, in which Hildebrand, afterwards Gregory VII., presided as papal legate. Berenger, convicted and overpowered, though not convinced, submitted, through the weakness of human nature, to the fear of man, and solemnly abjured his opinions; but the constraint being removed, he resumed and continued to disseminate his former doctrines. Pope Nicholas II. summoned him to a council at Rome A. D. 1059, and so pressed and overawed him, that he agreed to take and subscribe the following oath: " I
" Berenger, an unworthy deacon of the church
" of St. Maurice in Anjou, knowing the true
" and apostolic faith, disapprove and detest all
" heresy, and especially that of which I am accused: the construing the bread and wine
" placed on the sacred altar, and consecrated,
" to be still no more than a sacrament, and not
" the

“ the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ ; that they cannot be sensibly but sa-
 “ cramentally handled by the priests, and con-
 “ sumed by the faithful : wherefore I submit to
 “ the holy Roman church, and to the apostolic
 “ faith, and with my mouth and heart profess
 “ concerning the Holy Sacrament, that I hold
 “ the same faith, which my lord and venerable
 “ pope Nicholas and this sacred synod have
 “ delivered, and commanded me with evangelical
 “ and apostolical authority to keep ; viz. that
 “ the bread and wine placed on the altar after
 “ consecration, are not a mere sacrament, but
 “ also the very body and blood of our Lord Jesus
 “ Christ ; and are handled and broken by the
 “ priests, and consumed by the people, sensibly
 “ (*sensualiter*) as such, and not sacramentally,
 “ or figuratively. This I swear by the holy and
 “ co-substantial Trinity, and by the very sacred
 “ gospels of Christ ; all who contravene this
 “ faith, I hold and declare accursed for ever ;
 “ and if I shall ever think or speak contrary to
 “ it, I shall deserve the utmost severity of cen-
 “ sure. All which, after due perusal, I have
 “ freely subscribed “.”

It is unpleasant to record the dissimulation of
 a man, whose mind was naturally so capable of
 freedom and independence. The fact shows,
 on the one hand, the monstrous blindness and
 deplorable superstition of the Roman church ;
 and, on the other, the occasional weakness and
 vice of the best and most eminent men. For

“ Acta Concil. tom. vi. p. 2. p. 1064.

Berenger was no sooner at liberty, and in France again among his friends, than he declared his abhorrence of the doctrine, which he said he had been obliged to avow, but which he now again abjured, and more zealously than ever taught and defended his former opinions.

After the lapse of twenty years, he was found to have acquired many followers, and too powerful a support to be intimidated by ordinary means in his own country. The enterprising Hildebrand, now Gregory VII., judged it necessary, if possible, to terminate and suppress a controversy which was unfavourable to the dignity and authority of the church. He sent for Berenger, who repaired to Rome A. D. 1079, and in the sixth council of Rome held by Gregory VII. persuaded him to take the following oath: “ I
“ Berenger, with the heart believe, and with
“ my mouth confess, that the bread and wine
“ placed on the altar and consecrated by prayer,
“ and by the words of our Redeemer, are substantially converted into the true, proper, and
“ vivifying flesh and blood of our Lord Jesus
“ Christ, and, after consecration, is the true body
“ of Christ, who was born of the Virgin and
“ suspended on the cross, and who is now exalted on the right hand of the Father ; and is
“ the very blood of Christ, which flowed from
“ his side, not only by sign and virtue of the
“ sacrament, but in propriety of nature and
“ verity of substance, as is expressed in this
“ summary, as I read, and you understand. This
“ is my belief, nor will I more teach any other
“ faith.

"faith. So help me God, and these holy go-
"spels of God".¹⁷

Berenger no sooner returned to France, than he again retracted this solemn oath, and even wrote publicly against the doctrine which it contained. Lanfranc of Canterbury, and many others, published and inveighed against him; but Gregory VII. either secretly agreeing with him, or persuaded that the controversy might subside the sooner by forbearance, would not again consent to take any measures against him. Berenger appears to have been ultimately torn with painful remorse, on account of his duplicity and repeated perjury. He became deeply humble and penitent, adhering however to his original faith of the simple and figurative nature of the elements of bread and wine in the Lord's Supper, in opposition to the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation, and died at St. Cosme near Tours, January 6, A. D. 1088, aged near ninety years¹⁸.

In this detail we find transubstantiation, a word introduced or authorised by the fourth Lateran Council, A. D. 1215, to be now certainly the

¹⁷ *Acta Concilior.* tom. vi. p. 1. p. 1585.

¹⁸ Fleury and the Roman Catholic writers say, that he died in the Catholic faith. Mosheim, who investigated this subject, and the whole controversy, with patient and successful industry, affirms the contrary. See also Mabillon, *Præf.* 2. *Sæcul.* 6. n. 31-63. *Chron. S. Mart. Tur.* *Basnages Hist. des Eglise reformées*, tom. i. *De l'Eglise*, tom. ii. *Dupin. Cent.* 11. c. 2.

established

established doctrine of the church of Rome, though not sealed with all the precision of after-times; a doctrine which, next to the indulgences granted so shamelessly and shockingly for any kind and number of sins, contributed at last to rouse men's reason, to break the fetters of superstition, and by the Reformation to re-introduce into Europe some enjoyment of religious light and liberty. In producing this effect, Berenger was a remote, but by no means a contemptible, cause. He left many disciples, whose successors in the subsequent ages beheld and promoted the revival both of learning and religion.

The controversy continued, but with less vehemence, to agitate the church. Some writers preferred consubstantiation, intending by that word to signify, that the bread and wine were not absolutely changed into flesh and blood; yet that the divine presence was mysteriously and substantially included in, or contained under, the visible elements¹⁹.

No subject or period of history appears more involved and obscure, from the prejudiced, partial, and contradictory accounts of authors, than the rise, progress, doctrines, and character of the

¹⁹ Dacherii Spicileg. Veter. Script. tom. iii. Mosheim Cent. 13. part ii. c. 3.

Waldenses and Albigenſes. All the Roman Catholic writers have repreſented them in the blackeſt colours, traced them to the moſt odious ancient ſects, branded them with the moſt ridiculous or offensive nick-names, aſſigned them the moſt fanatical leaders, and aſcribed to them the moſt ſhocking vices. This appears to have been done by deſign ſo recently after the events, and ſo artfully on ſubſequent occaſions, as to miſlead ſome eminent and even Proteſtant writers. Moſheim himſelf does not ſeem to have exerciſed his uſual induſtry and diſcernment on this ſubject; and, through the general confidence repoſed in him, he has betrayed Gibbon and others into error.

It is diſgusting to read the following account of the Albigenſes, in a late ſplendid Hiſtory of France, in Engliſh, 5 vols. 4to. A. D. 1791²⁰, “ We are told,” ſays the author, quoting Père Daniel, and Hiſt. Albigenſ. Duch. tom. ix. p. 556. “ that the Albigenſes believed in two “ Gods: one a beneficent being, author of the “ New Teſtament, who had two wives, Collant “ and Collibant, and was father of ſeveral children, and among others of Chriſt and the “ Devil: the other God was a malevolent being, a liar, and a deſtroyer of men, author “ of the ancient law, who, not content with “ having perſecuted the patriarchs during their “ lives, had conſigned them all to damnation “ after death. They alſo acknowledged two “ Chriſts: one wicked, who was born at Beth-

²⁰ Vol. i. p. 412.

“ Iſhem

" Iehem and crucified at Jerufalem, and who
 " kept as his concubine Mary Magdalene, the
 " woman fo well known for having been caught
 " in the act of adultery: the other Chrift, all
 " virtuous and invifible, who never inhabited the
 " world, but fpiritually in the body of Paul.
 " They represented the church of Rome as the
 " fcarlet-whore mentioned in the Revelations:
 " they regarded the facraments as frivolous
 " things, confidered marriage as a ftate of
 " prostitution, the Lord's Supper as a chimera,
 " the Refurrection of the Flefh as a ridiculous
 " fable, and the worship of Images as deteftable
 " idolatry. Had all their tenets been equally
 " rational with the laft, they would not have
 " been obnoxious to much censure. They were
 " divided into two claffes; the Perfected, and the
 " Believers. They all openly profefled great
 " purity of manners, and fecretly practifed the
 " moft infamous voluptuousnefs, on the prin-
 " ciple, That from the waift downwards, man
 " is incapable of fin."

To vindicate thefe fefts and the truth from fuch mifrepresentation, it feems neceffary to inveftigate this fubject fomewhat minutely.

In the dark ages which followed the invafion
 of Europe by the barbarous nations, when feudal
 anarchy diftracted the civil governments, and
 fuperftition oppreffed the church, Chriftianity,
 banifhed from the feats of empire, and lothing the
 monkifh abodes of idlenefs and vice, meekly re-
 tired into the fequeftered valleys of Piedmont.
 Finding there a race of men unarrayed in hostile

armour, uninfected by the doctrine and commandments of an apostate church, unambitious in their temper, and simple in their manners, she preferred their society, and there fixed among them her residence. She is said to have been chiefly patronised by Claude archbishop of Turin, in the ninth century. The turbulence and tyranny of the feudal times, which drove many from the more fertile plains of France and Italy in search of freedom and tranquillity, extended the population, and augmented the churches, of this remote district. The people received the general name of Valois, or Vallenfes, the inhabitants of the valleys²¹.

Unknown to others, and little conversant with letters themselves, we cannot expect almost any notices of them, till their increase and prosperity excited the attention of ambition and avarice, and till it was rumoured in the neighbouring ecclesiastical governments, that a numerous people occupied the southern valleys of the Alps, whose faith and practice differed from those of the Romish church, and who paid no tithes, offered no mass, neither worshipped saints, nor employed any of the prescribed means for redeeming their souls from purgatory. The archbishops of Turin, Milan, &c. heard this report with anxiety, and dispatched suitable missionaries to examine its veracity. Finding it confirmed, and learning that ecclesiastical censures and authority could have no influence over

²¹ L'Hist. Generale des Eglises Vaud. par J. Leger, ch. 20, 21, 22. 28. Id. *ibid.* liv. deusieme, ch. 1. p. 3.

them,

them, the aid of the civil power was demanded. The princes and nobles of the adjacent countries at first refused to disturb them; they had admired their simplicity and integrity, their promptitude to oblige, and their fidelity in the discharge of all the duties which fell under their observation. The zeal of the Romish clergy, however, prevailed, and the civil power was armed against the inoffensive people of the valleys. They were required to submit to the galling yoke of a tyrannical church, or to the most excruciating tortures, and death. Many were torn from their friends, and transported from their valleys: scaffolds were erected, and fires kindled, at Turin, and other cities around them. The fortitude and confidence of the martyrs, however, increased as their faith and constancy were tried. "Favour me," said Catalan Girard, as he sat on the funeral pile at Reuel, "with these two flint stones," which he saw near him. These being handed to him, "Sooner," added he, "shall I eat these stones," throwing them each to the ground, "than you shall be able by persecution to destroy the religion for which I die."

Great numbers, however, fled, like innocent and defenceless sheep, from these devouring dogs. They travelled in every direction as Providence and hope of safety conducted them, into Germany, England, France, and Italy. There they trimmed their lamps, and shone with new lustre. Their worth everywhere drew attention, and

²² Hist. des Vaudois, par Jean Paul Perrin, p. 151.

their doctrines formed increasing circles around them. The storm which threatened their destruction, only scattered them as the precious seeds of the future glorious reformation of the church of Christ.

We shall not trace their progress under the new names of Wickliffites, Lollards, Turlupins, Bohemians, &c. in other countries; but follow them directly into France, where they are discernible through all that obscurity with which their adversaries have clouded and disguised them.

The names imposed on them in France by their adversaries, have been intended to vilify and ridicule them, or to represent them as new and different sects. Being stripped of all their property, and reduced by persecution to extreme poverty, they have been called the "Poor of Lyons." From their mean and famished appearance in their exiled and destitute state, they have been called in provincial jargon Siccan, or pick-pockets. Because they would not observe saints' days, they were supposed falsely to neglect the sabbath also, and called Infabbathists²³. As they denied transubstantiation, or the personal and divine presence of Jesus Christ in the host or wafer exhibited in the mass, they were called Arians. Their adversaries, premising that all power must be derived either from God through his vicegerent the pope, or from an opposite and

²³ This name has also been derived from the kind of slippers which they wore. See Gibbon, vol. x. Mosheim, vol. ii.
evil

evil principle, inferred that the Waldenses were Manicheans, because they denied the pope's supremacy over the emperors and kings of the earth. For the same reason, and on account of fancied analogies in their mode of life, they pronounced them Gnostics and Adamites.

In Languedoc, the Catholics pretended that the origin of these heretics was recent, and that they derived their name of Valois, or Waldenses, from Peter Valdo. He was, it is true, one of their barbes, or preachers, who had resorted from Piedmont to Lyons, and his immediate followers were called Waldenses; but this was rather the renovation of the name from a particular cause, than its original: accordingly, it extended over that district only where Peter Waldus preached; for in other districts, the people who were branches of the same original sect, as in Dauphiné, were from a noted preacher called Josephists: in Languedoc, they were called Henricians; and in other provinces, from Peter de Bruys, they were called Petrobrussians. Sometimes they received their name from their manners, as Catharists; and, from the foreign country whence it was pretended they had been expelled, they were called Bulgarians or Bougres: sometimes they were denominated Paulicians, and, by corruption of the word, Publicans, considering them as sprung from that ancient sect, which in the seventh century spread over Armenia and Thrace, and which, when persecuted by the Greek emperors, might emigrate into Europe, and mingle with the Waldenses in Piedmont: sometimes they were named from the country or city in

which they prevailed, as Lombardists, Thoulousians, and Albigenes. All these branches, however, originated in one trunk; and were animated by the same religious and moral principles²⁴.

Albigenes became latterly their common name, from the great number of them who inhabited the city of Alby, and the district of Albigeois, betwixt the Garonne and the Rhone; but that name was not general and confirmed till after the council of Alby A. D. 1254, which condemned them. Their number and prevalence in that country are ascribed to the patronage and protection which they received from Roger, count of Alby, after they had been persecuted in other countries. To this it may be added, that historians do not trace their origin to any local causes in Albigeois, and about Thoulouse; but represent them as emigrants from other regions. Neither do they represent their origin as recent before the council of Alby, but as strangers from adjacent countries about a hundred years before.

Farther, the provincial councils of Thoulouse A. D. 1119, and of Lombez A. D. 1176, and the general councils of Lateran A. D. 1139 and 1179, do not treat of them, nor condemn them, as Albigenes, but as heretics; and, when they particularise them, they call them *bons hommes*, *cathari*, *patarini*, *publicani*, &c. which shews

²⁴ Histoire Generale des Eglises Evangeliques des Vallées de Piedmont. Par Jean Leger, pasteur, ch. 2. 24, 25.

that

that they existed before they were generally known as Albigenes.

From their books, also, it is proved, that they existed as Waldenses before Peter Waldus, who preached about A. D. 1160. Perrin, who writes their history, had in his possession a New Testament in the Vallesse language, written on parchment, in a very ancient letter; and a book, intitled in their language, "Qual cosa sia l'Ante-christ, en datte, de l'na millescent & vingt;" which carries us back at least twenty years before Waldo. Another book, intitled, "Le noble Leïçon," is dated A. D. 1100²⁵.

Their enemies confirm their great antiquity. Reinerus Sacco, an inquisitor, and one of the most cruel against this people, who lived not a century after Waldo, admits that the Waldenses flourished five hundred years before that preacher. Gretzer, the jesuit, who also wrote against the Waldenses, and had examined the subject fully, not only admitted their great antiquity, but declared his firm belief, "That the Thoulousians and Albigenes condemned in the years 1177 and 1178, were no other than Waldenses²⁶."

²⁵ Nicolas Vignier, *Hist. Ecclesiastique*. Claude Seifzel, p. 5. Jean Paul Perrin, *Hist. des Albigeois*. Dupin, 12th century, ch. 6.

A copy of the tract "Le Noble Leïçon," was lodged in the university of Cambridge, dated A. D. 1100; and another in the Library at Geneva. Leger *Hist. Gen. des Vaudois*, ch. 26.

²⁶ *La Doctrine des Vaudois*, par Jacque Cappel, p. 7. See also note 17 by Arch. M'Lean, D. D. Mosheim, vol. ii. p. 452.

Their

Their doctrines, discipline, government, manners, and even the errors with which they have been charged, shew that the Albigenſes and Waldenſes were two branches of the ſame ſect, or that the former were ſprung from the latter²⁷.

As the foundation of their religious doctrines, they received the Scriptures of the Old and New Teſtament only: they believed in one Mediator between God and man, and denied the mediation and worſhip of Saints: they believed, that all who are juſtified by faith in Chriſt, ſhall obtain eternal life, without the intervention of purgatory: they admitted and obſerved two ſacraments only, viz. Baptiſm, and the Lord's Supper: they condemned maſſes, human traditions, and the faſts, feaſts, and general hierarchy of the church of Rome²⁸. Perrin, the hiſtorian of the Waldenſes, adds a number of teſtimonies, that theſe, and no other, were the doctrines of that church. He obſerves, indeed, that the Catholics diſregarded theſe teſtimonies, or endeavoured to invalidate them, as all thoſe of heretics; and therefore proceeds next to eſtabliſh theſe doctrines as theirs, from their writings. Theſe writings, he ſhews, had been carefully tranſ-

²⁷ This ſubject is treated fully by Jean Leger, in his General Hiſtory of the Waldenſes, ch. 2, 3.—18.

²⁸ The venerable author referred to, Le Sieur de Vignaux, wrote Memoirs concerning the Source, Antiquity, Doctrine, Religion, Manners, Diſcipline, Perſecutions, &c. of the Waldenſes; and collected many of their ancient writings on theſe ſubjects, catechiſms, ſermons, &c. written in their vulgar tongue, which he left to be carefully tranſmitted to poſterity. See their Confession of Faith, Perrin, Hiſt. des Vaudois, ch. 12, 13.

mitted from generation to generation : some of them bear internal evidence of great antiquity, and others of them bear the more recent date of A. D. 1120. He enumerates about thirty of them, all written in the Vallese tongue, which is a mixture of the Provençal and Piedmontese²⁹.

That these were the doctrines of the Waldenses, is attested by their enemies as well as their friends. Lindanus considered Calvin as the heir of the Vallese doctrines. Gautier the jesuit, in his Chronology, shews, in twenty articles, that the Waldenses and Calvinists were of the same faith. Thomas Walden, who wrote against Wickliff, traces the doctrines of the latter to the Waldenses. Cardinal Bellarmin says, that Wickliff had only a little improved the heresy of the Waldenses. Eccius reproaches Luther with having renewed the heresies already condemned, of the Waldenses and the Albigenes, of Wickliff of England, and of John Hus of Bohemia³⁰.

Their government and discipline were extremely simple : the youth intended for the ministry among them, were placed under the inspection of some of the elder barbes, or pastors, who trained them chiefly to the knowledge of the Scriptures; and when satisfied of their proficiency, they received them as preachers, with imposition of hands. Their pastors were maintained by the

²⁹ Hist. des Vaudois, ch. 7.

³⁰ Id. ch. 8. L'Hist. Gener. des Eglises Vaudoises, par Jean Leger, ch. 19.

voluntary offerings of the people. The whole church assembled once a year, to treat of their general affairs: contributions were then obtained; and the common fund was divided for the year among not only the fixed pastors, but such as were itinerant, and had no particular district or charge. If any of them had fallen into scandal or sin, they were prohibited from preaching, and thrown out of the society. The pastors were assisted in their inspection of the people's morals, by elders, whom probably both pastors and people elected, and set apart for that purpose ³¹.

The manners of the people under the influence of a strict inspection and rigid discipline, were rather austere: not only were gaming, gormandizing, fornication, usury, and fraud, forbidden; but dancing, and some other innocent amusements. They were prudently enjoined to have no fellowship with any person of even a light behaviour; they were wisely cautioned against every appearance of malignity, and constantly exhorted to cultivate and maintain charity and fidelity ³².

They were an inoffensive people, of a mild temper, generous in their dispositions, holy in their lives, and great enemies of every vice. Their pastors were men of the most exemplary holiness; and, such was the respect even of Roman catholics for them, that they came from a great distance to procure them as servants.

³¹ Hist. des Vaudois, ch. 10.

³² Id. liv. ii. ch. 1—10.

It has been already observed, that, soon after the Waldenses were troubled in Piedmont, they began to appear in the different counties of the south of France, and particularly at Lyons, Thoulouse, and Albi. They might be expected to rise in these new situations with some shades of difference in opinions and manners; but the more closely we inspect them, the more reason we have to be satisfied, that however disguised by new names, and disfigured by the misrepresentations of their enemies, their faith, their worship, and their practice, were the same. The Albigenes were denounced in the papal decrees, were tried before the tribunal of the inquisition, and generally persecuted by the people as Waldenses³³. Their confessional of sins, their commentary on the commandments and on the Lord's Prayer, their catechism for the instruction of children, and their account of the Sacraments, extracted from their writings, discover no material difference³⁴.

Limborch, who collected a great number of the trials of these people before the tribunal of the inquisition, has attempted³⁵ to shew, that the Albigenes entertained some opinions which were never ascribed to the Waldenses: such as that they believed in two gods; and that Jesus did not really assume our nature, nor rose with a true

³³ Jac. de Riberia in *Collectaneis Urbis Tolosæ*. Limborch, *Historia Inquisitionis*. J. P. Perrin, *Hist. des Albig.*

p. 1, 2.

³⁴ Perrin, *Hist. des Albig.* lib. i.

³⁵ P. 31, 32.

body: others have charged them with licentious intercourse of the sexes. I have selected these as prominent points of alleged difference, and as the chief accusations against the Albigenes. The other points are still more easily reconcilable.

Vindication
of the Albi-
genes.

With respect to the first of these articles, it appears to have originated in the ambition of pope Boniface VIII. to subject all earthly princes to papal authority, according to the canon which he published for that purpose; saying, "Whosoever shall resist this (papal) power, resists the ordinance of God; unless, as a Manichean, he believes in two supreme Beings³⁶."

The Albigenes were known uniformly to deny the major proposition of this syllogism, that the popes possessed supreme and universal power nearth; the conclusion therefore seemed obvious, that they were Manicheans. In the conduct of their trials, it was the study of the inquisitors, as Limborch admits, to draw and extort such confessions as might involve, or seem to involve, this conclusion; and their calling Satan "the god of this world," in Scripture language, or any thing similar, or which might be so construed, was sufficient evidence for inferring that they were Manicheans³⁷.

With respect to the second article, it was the doctrine of the Catholics of those times, that the

³⁶ Canon. Unam Sanctam, lib. i. tom. viii. De Maj. & Obed.

³⁷ Limborch, Hist. Inquis. cap. & fol. 40. & 68. 82.

confe-

consecrated bread in the Eucharist was the very body which Jesus assumed on his incarnation, and with which he arose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven. To deny a part of this doctrine, was equal to a denial of the whole; and the person who dared to do it, and especially in presence of the inquisition, was branded with the name and character of Arian and heretic, and was unworthy to live.

In their catechism for the instruction of the Albigeoise youth, the answer to one of their questions is most explicit on this subject, viz. "Jesus Christ, who was *true God* and *true man*, "was born; and suffered, for my redemption and "justification". And, in commenting on the sacrament of the Supper, they not only explain their faith in the bread as a figure or symbol of Christ's body, by passages of Scripture, but by references to the writings of St. Augustin on that subject".

Nothing can be more contrary to their doctrines and maxims of chastity and marriage, than the opinions imputed to them under the third article which was mentioned; nor is it easy to conjecture any other foundation for the charge, than that they denied marriage to be a sacrament; and sometimes contrasted it as far inferior to that spiritual union of Christ with his church, of which the apostle frequently speaks. It is certain, that there is no sin against which they remonstrate and exhort in their books of morals

³⁸ Hist. des Alb. liv. i. ch. 1.

³⁹ Ibid. ch. 6.

and

and "discipline with more solicitude and zeal, than licentious indulgence and disorder. They urge the numerous examples in Scripture of the danger of any unlawful gratification of this kind, at the same time that they represent marriage as instituted in Paradise, and confirmed by the doctrines and injunctions of the apostles ⁴⁰.

Limborch himself says on this subject: "Hence we may observe how little credit is due to Roman catholic writers, when they describe the doctrines and morals of those whom they call heretics: that nothing is more common with them than to ascribe separation from their communion altogether, to motives of sensuality; judging of the ruling principles of others, by those which they are conscious have most influence over themselves ⁴¹."

Other sects, and many individuals properly of no sect, it ought to be admitted, agreed with both Waldenses and Albigenses in their opposition to the church of Rome, and therefore were liable to be confounded with them. They became so numerous, that, about A. D. 1200, they were in possession of Thoulouse, and eighteen other principal towns in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. They were patronised by the counts of Thoulouse and Foix, the viscount of

⁴⁰ Hist. des Albigs. liv. i. ch. 3. p. 192. & ch. 7. p. 217. liv. ii. ch. 7, 8, 9, 10.

⁴¹ Hist. Inquisitionis, cap. 8. p. 33. See also Basnage Hist. des Eglises Reformées. Muratori Antiq. tom. v. Mabillon Analect. Acta Concil. 1119. 1163. 1176, &c.

Beziers,

Beziers, and many other potent nobles. Their numbers and growing influence at last alarmed the church and the pope, no less than the progress of the infidels in Asia had done. Similar measures therefore were proposed for checking and subduing them.

The first steps taken against them, were general canons and sentences of excommunication. Not only was the sect anathematized, but every one who should lodge or protect them, or hold any intercourse with them, commercial or convivial. The clergy, in their dioceses and parishes, were required to note them; and take care that they should neither enjoy christian privileges while living, nor burial when dead. Kings, princes, and magistrates, were commanded to encourage, and with their civil powers to support, the Catholic clergy, and to confiscate the property and raze to the foundation the houses of heretics, and of all those who countenanced them.

These means not proving effectual, the pope Innocent III. next sent two legates, Rainerius and Guido, to inquire into the causes of their failure, to stimulate the clergy to greater diligence, to spy the conduct of the nobles, and on the spot to demand from them the immediate trial and punishment of heretics.

*Origin of
the inquisition.*

Even this measure was not equal in its success to the zeal of the pope: it was the first essay towards the institution of the inquisition, the most iniquitous and awful tribunal that ever raged

against the human race. But the two legates were supposed defective in zeal, or not sufficient in number or authority to stem the increasing tide which threatened to inundate Europe, and in its progress to overthrow and desolate the Catholic church. The new orders of Dominicans and Franciscans were instituted to preach against heresy, and to exterminate heretics. Dominic and his disciples, or assistants, were sent into France; and Franciscus, with his fraternity, into Italy. They were furnished with the most ample authority and power; and emulation, it was expected, would stimulate the zeal of these orders to rival and exceed one another in their exertions and success.

The Dominicans having obtained the house or castle of a noble convert near Narbonne, there fixed their tribunal about A. D. 1210, and gave origin to the inquisition. On the one hand, they offered to converts the remission of all their sins, full indulgences, and various other privileges; the obstinate they branded, imprisoned, and tortured⁴².

All these measures seemed to the pope but as the sprinkling of water, which aggravated and extended the flame of heresy. He denounced open and more violent war. He invited the Ca-

⁴² Limborchi Historia Inquisitionis, cap. 10.

The Dominican and Franciscan orders were not formally instituted for some years after; but such in fact was their origin and their primary acts, which procured their institution.

tholic princes and nobles to take up arms; and he gave commission every where to preach the same indulgences, and terms of every kind, as when levies were made for crusading to Asia.

Raymond, the sixth count of Thoulouse, in whose territories the Albigenes chiefly abounded, patronised them, and now exerted himself to counteract the means employed to oppress them. His character is differently represented by the friends and foes of his party. The former describe him as not only generous and brave, but pious and perfect; the latter vilify him as hypocritical and brutal. The true account of him seems to be, whether he had imbibed the opinions, or not, of the persecuted, that he humanely sympathized with them; that he understood the true spirit of religion to be a spirit of tolerance; that he studied to promote the real interests of his country; and with these views, at least, that he was desirous to protect and encourage all of every sect who were useful and peaceful members of society. Under such a patronage, their numbers rapidly increased; but it proportionally inflamed to the utmost the indignation of the fierce and bloody inquisitors.

Peter Castelnau, one of their number, having been assassinated, the count was suspected as privy at least to the murder. The crime was loudly denounced by every Catholic preacher as the most shocking and awful. The count was loaded with infamy, and with the highest censures of the church; his subjects were declared free from their allegiance; his dominions were

offered to the first occupant; and kings, nobles, and people, were entreated to arm against him, in the same manner, and with the assurance of the same privileges, spiritual and temporal, as they formerly enjoyed in the crusades, which were published and undertaken against the Saracens.

*Crusade
against the
Albigenses.*

Nearly five hundred thousand men accordingly enlisted in this warfare. Raymond was seasonably alarmed; he offered to submit; and, as a proof of his sincerity, he delivered up seven fortified places in Provence into the hands of the pope. Yet this was not a sufficient sacrifice to ecclesiastical pride; he was required to present himself, naked to the shirt, at the gate of the church; to prostrate himself at the feet of the legate; and to swear over the sacred bread, that henceforth he would observe whatever the see of Rome should prescribe to him. Thus he received absolution. He was required to take the cross against his own subjects, and to exert himself in strengthening the papal influence among them, in opposition to his own.

Raymond Roger, his nephew, at the head of seven fiefs, or baronies, dependent on the count of Thoulouse, was more bold and determined than his uncle. He would by no means engage to yield an implicit obedience to the orders of Rome, nor abandon the people who had put themselves under his protection. Beziers, his capital, unable to withstand the attack of five hundred thousand men, fell into their hands; its inhabitants, to the number of twenty-three thousand,

thousand, without distinction, it is said, were put to the sword. When the assailants asked the abbé de Cîteaux, How they should distinguish the Catholics from the heretics?—"Kill them all," said the abbé; "God knoweth them that are his!"

After a brave defence, Raymond Roger was taken, with the city of Carcassonne; and died soon after in prison.

This crusade against the Albigenes, which was not expected to be of such long continuance, was hitherto conducted by a churchman, the abbé de Cîteaux: now Simon count de Montfort, a man of some military talents, but of a fierce and haughty temper, was chosen general. Under the mask of piety and zeal, he gratified a cruel and covetous disposition; he assassinated, burnt, and plundered, without regard to character, sex, or age. Dazzled by his success, he overlooked the proper bounds, not only of moderation, but of prudence; and, encouraged by the papal legate, dared to propose, that the count of Thoulouse should absolutely surrender to him all his castles and territories as conquered by the Catholic army. Raymond refused, and appealed to Philip, king of France, his lord paramount: and the haughty count began to execute his threats, and laid siege to Preissan.

* Père Daniel treats this subject fully, but partially and with virulence, tom. ii. p. 669. Velly is more moderate and impartial, tom. iii. Fleury Hist. Eccles. tom. xv. is candid, but tedious.

The count de Foix, who was not only interested in that place, but in the people and opinions which were so persecuted, was forced to yield for a little to superior force; but his resentment, joined with that of the count of Thoulouse, roused many of the neighbouring barons. Their union suddenly changed the state of affairs; they stripped Montfort of almost all his conquests, and a total revolution was nearly effected: but in a general engagement, which took place in the valley of Theniere, they were defeated; and the spirit and courage of the party again failed⁴⁴.

A.D. 1210.

In the course of the war, the castle of Minerva having submitted at discretion. the abbe de Cîteaux, who was always the chief counsellor of the crusaders, even since the election of Montfort, hesitated some time how he should treat the garrison and inhabitants. "He sincerely
 " desired the death of the enemies of Jesus
 " Christ," says the author of the history of the Albigeois; "but being a priest, and a monk,
 " he could not agree to the slaughter of the
 " citizens, if they would be converted. Robert Mauvoisin, a zealot in the army, dissatisfied with this appearance of condescension
 " and humanity, insisted, that they had come,
 " not to favour heretics, but to exterminate
 " them. The blood-thirsty monk was relieved
 " from his embarrassment, by the higher tone,
 " not the fiercer spirit of another. "Fear not," replied he; "not one of them, probably, will

⁴⁴ Bessé Hist. des Ducs de Narbonne. Hist. de Languedoc. Petrus Vall. Cernai.

" accept

“ accept of the alternative.” It was so: the piles being kindled, they generally precipitated themselves into the flames “!

The reduction of Minerva was followed by the submission of Ventalon, Montreal, and all the country south of the Tam. Success raised the pride and demands of the inquisitors. Conditions were prescribed, to which no man of spirit could agree:—“ That count Raymond should
 “ lay down his arms, without retaining one soldier or auxiliary; that he should not only
 “ submit absolutely, and for ever, to the church,
 “ but repair, and refund, whatever losses she
 “ might have sustained by the war; that in all
 “ his territories, no one should ever eat more
 “ than two kinds of flesh; that he should expel
 “ all heretics, and their allies and abettors, from
 “ his dominions; that within a year and day he
 “ should deliver up, to the count de Montfort,
 “ every person whom he should name, or require,
 “ to be punished or disposed of as the count might think fit; that his subjects should
 “ never wear any jewels, nor fine clothes, nor caps,
 “ nor bonnets of any other colour than black;
 “ that all his places of strength should be demolished;
 “ that no relation or friend of his should reside in any city, but in the country
 “ only; that no new tax should be levied by him,
 “ but that every head of a family in his territories
 “ should pay four deniers yearly to the pope’s legate;
 “ that the tiends should be paid over all his lands;
 “ that the papal legate should never be required to pay any toll,

“ Hist. Albigenf. c. 37.

“ or other imposition; in travelling through
 “ the country under his jurisdiction; that
 “ Raymond should associate himself with the
 “ knights of St. John, and go into voluntary
 “ banishment, as a crusader, to the Holy Land,
 “ never to return without leave; and, finally,
 “ that he should not have his lands restored un-
 “ til he had complied with all these demands.”

Having with becoming spirit refused them, the count was excommunicated, and declared the enemy of the church; his vassals were proclaimed free from all allegiance and duty to him; and his lands were offered to the possession and enjoyment of those who would conquer them. In such extremity, Raymond made the best use he could of those of his own forces in whom he could confide, solicited the support and protection of such of his neighbours as were at all disposed to favour him against these ghostly tyrants, and resolved to set the court of Rome at defiance. The war was of course renewed. Raymond was greatly reduced, and his distress was aggravated by the part which Lewis, son of Philip Augustus, though his relation and lord paramount, took against him. Montfort was killed A. D. 1218, at the siege of Thoulouse; but the war continued: and Raymond dying, his son, the young Raymond, was forced by Lewis VIII, king of France, A. D. 1228, finally to submit to terms even more severe than those which were proposed in the council of Arles to his father⁴⁶.

⁴⁶ Concil. Arelat. A. D. 1210; in Act. Concilior. Har-
 duini; Paris, 1714.

⁴⁷ Act. Concil. tom. iii. Hist. de Languedoc, tom. vi.
 Preuves.

From this period the Albigenſes declined ; but they revived again with the morning of the Reformation. The questions agitated with zeal during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, whether the Virgin Mary was immaculate, and whether Martial, firſt biſhop of Limoges, was an apoſtle, ſhew the debaſement to which the human mind, fettered by ſuperſtition, and trained to frivolous diſcuſſions, may be reduced ; but in every other point of view deſerve rather to be buried in oblivion, than to be recorded in hiſtory *.

The ſubjects of difference between the Greek and Latin churches do not properly belong to French hiſtory, for the French clergy had no ſhare in that controverſy ; but it may be ſlightly noticed, as forming an æra in general eccleſiaſtical hiſtory. It originated in the pride, and, whatever other oſtenſible cauſe is aſſigned, it may be affirmed to have been maintained by the jealousy and ambition, of the biſhops of Rome and Conſtantinople. The contention became public and violent, when Michael the emperor, A. D. 858, baniſhed Ignatius, patriarch of Conſtantinople, and appointed Photius in his room. In conſequence of an appeal to pope Nicolas I., by the former, the council of Rome, A. D. 862, excommunicated the latter ; who, indulging that reſentment which the ſmalleſt animals poſſeſs in common with the greateſt, excommunicated

Schiſm of
the Greek
and Latin
churches.

* St Bernardi-Epiſt. 174. tom. i. Boulay, Hiſt. Acad. Paris. tom. i, ii. Hiſt. Lit. de la Fr. tom. vii.

the pope. After being inflamed by resentment, Photius proceeded, as is usual in such cases of ecclesiastical difference, to invent reasons for the schism already resolved on: I. That they fasted on the sabbath. II. That in the first week of Lent they permitted the use of milk and cheese. III. That they prohibited the clergy from marrying. IV. That the bishops only in the Latin church were qualified to anoint the baptised with the holy chrism. V. That they had corrupted the Creed, by adding to it "*Filioque*," *i. e.* the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Son as well as from the Father. Photius died, and the controversy might have died with him; but the pope now insisted on the extinction of all his official acts, and on the degradation of all the priests and bishops whom he had ordained. The controversy, however, might again have slept, had not Cerularius, unwilling to be thought inferior to the pope, and ambitious of extending his spiritual dominion, imagined that his own aggrandisement might be promoted by clamour against his adversary. To the five accusations by Photius, he added, VI. That the Latin church used unleavened bread in the Eucharist. VII. That they abstained not from the use of blood, and of things strangled. VIII. That their sickly monks were indulged with lard and flesh. IX. That their bishops wore rings on their fingers. X. That their priests were beardless: and XI. That they immersed once only in baptism. Leo IX., then in the papal chair, replied to these accusations in a letter, which he wrote with indignation. He confirmed the schism in the council

council of Rome by a solemn sentence of excommunication against all the Greek churches; and his legates had the audacity to repeat the provoking solemnity in the church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, A.D. 1054.

SECT. II.

Of Ecclesiastical Men, Revenues, Institutions, &c.

DURING the eleventh and twelfth centuries the papal power reached that height, from which it soon after began to decline. The popes obtained the right of presiding personally, or by their legates, in all councils: they became the sovereign arbiters and final judges of all ecclesiastical litigations, which were in great numbers, and on almost every important subject, appealed to them. They successfully controlled not only the clergy, but the princes and sovereigns of the different kingdoms of Europe. Jealousies occasionally arose, indignation appeared, resistance was sometimes made; but on the whole, there was a general disposition to submit in all things, both ecclesiastical and civil, to the enormous authority and dominion of the Holy See.

Continued ambition and aggrandisement of the popes.

The clergy and the princes themselves contributed to this aggrandisement, by their solicitude to receive privileges and consecration from the popes, which enhanced their value in their eyes,

eves, or seemed to confirm their right to enjoy them. The Hincmars of France, and the archbishops of Canterbury, Anselms and Lanfrances of England, referred to his judgment their disputes, and sought from him the redress of their grievances. Hugh Capet shewed an anxiety to have his usurpation of the crown confirmed like Pepin by the pope. William Dutre, duke of Normandy, went more confidently to conquer England, and to seize the crown, under the right which the pope conveyed, and the banner which he consecrated; and Henry VI. of Germany, A. D. 1191, on his bended knees at Rome, received the imperial crown, which was tossed to him contemptuously by the pope. Philip I., king of France, was intimidated by Victor II. and the bold and enterprising Gregory VII., though he was not subdued by them.

Gregory VII., well known in history by the name also of Hildebrand, was the most zealous and extravagant in his endeavours to aggrandise the papal authority and power. He was a native of Tuscany, but educated some time at Clugni. Trained according to the strictest rule of monastic discipline, his mind with virtuous sensibility revolted against the vicious manners of the clergy, and he was ardently desirous to attempt their reformation. His ideas and plans on this subject rose and extended with his own elevation, and the enlargement of his power, till he conceived the bold design of an universal church-monarchy. This, towards which papal ambition had for ages tended, seemed to him the most simple and effectual mode of restoring
general

general purity and order in monasteries and churches; of preventing simony; of abolishing lay investitures; of subduing the haughty and warlike spirit of kings and nobles; and of securing the peace of the world. In this view he issued, with awful authority, decrees of censure and excommunication against men of all ranks; he dissolved marriages, and interdicted kingdoms; he deprived monarchs of their crowns, and conferred them as a gift of the Holy See, and he aimed to render Europe and Asia one great feudal system under the pope of Rome. When the emperor of Constantinople implored his aid, he wrote him, that he would march at the head of all the forces of Europe to his relief; and sanguinely hoped that the powers of Asia were to become the vassals of the Roman pontiff¹.

The kingdom of Spain he pretended to belong time immemorial to the Holy See, and that it had been seized, indeed, and occupied, by the pagans; but as much of it was now to be granted by him to count Ronci, as he should conquer from the Saracens, to be held by him from the pope².

He reduced Henry IV., emperor of Germany, to the most extreme humiliation. His letter to Gregory, imploring forgiveness, is the most penitent³. His appearance when he came

¹ Gregorii Papæ VII. Epist. 18. 49. Nat. Alex. Sæc. xi.

² Epist. 7. 63, 64. lib. iv. xxviii.

³ Act. Concilior. tom. vi. p. 1. p. 1219.

to wait on him at Canusium, where the pope then resided, was the most abject. He watched three days at the gate barefoot, and clothed in coarse woollen, crying mercy, and dissolved in tears, till he received absolution⁴.

Gregory acknowledged the duke of Bohemia as his vassal⁵: and commended the allegiance and fidelity of the duke, and king of Hungary⁶.

He complained of the neglect of the kings of Sweden and Denmark; he presumed to admonish them with respect to the administration of their kingdoms; and recommended it to them, to shew a respectful submission to the Holy See⁷.

To Demetrius, king of Russia, he wrote; saying, "Your son has demanded your kingdom from us, and has intimated your consent that it be transferred to him. His petition seems reasonable, and we have granted it; so that he shall henceforth hold it as the gift and trust of St. Peter⁸," &c.

He soothed and cajoled William the Conqueror, whom he wanted to swear allegiance, and pay the usual subsidy. The latter, William paid, but the oath he declined. "It is his submission," said the disappointed pontiff, "rather than his money, which I want⁹."

⁴ Fleury, tom. xiii. p. 341. ⁵ Epist. 38. 45. 61.

⁶ Epist. 58 & lib. ii. Epist. 13.

⁷ Lib. ii. Epist. 51. 75. lib. v. x. ⁸ Epist. 74.

⁹ Lib. vii. Epist. 23. 25. Fleury, tom. xiii.

He made allowance, he said, to Philip king of France, who was forced to yield to his authority, for the faults of his youth, but hoped that now he would be obedient¹⁰.

The *Dictatus Papa*, papal decisions, which have been ascribed to Gregory, were not his, in the form in which they are presented to us; but they contain the spirit of his epistles, and were probably extracted from them by another person. They shew the height of papal ambition, and some of the prevalent principles of the church at that time. The following are some of the most remarkable of them: That the church of Rome is founded on God alone: that the Roman pontiff only is entitled to be called Universal Bishop: that he only can depose, or replace bishops, even without a council: that his legates are entitled to preside in councils, in preference to any other bishop or bishops even of superior rank, and may pronounce a sentence of deposition against them: that he may depose them, even when absent: that Christians ought to have no intercourse with those whom he has excommunicated: that it is lawful for him to make new laws, as circumstances require, to form new congregations, to convert a canonry into an abbey, to disjoin an extensive and rich bishopric, and to unite several small and poor ones into one: that he only can wear the imperial robes: that all potentates ought to kiss the pope's foot: that his name is supreme, and alone worthy of being mentioned in the

¹⁰ Lib. vii. Epist. 20.

churches,

churches, or in the world : that it is lawful for him to dethrone emperors, and to translate bishops, as circumstances may require, from one diocese to another : that he may ordain a clerk any where : that one ordained by him may preside in any church, but cannot serve, (*præesse, sed non militare,*) nor accept from any bishop a higher rank : that, without his authority, no council can be reckoned a general council ; or any book held as canonical : that his judgment can be questioned by none, but that he may correct the judgment of all : that he is subject to the judgment of no man : that no person shall dare to prevent an appeal to the Holy See : that all important causes in the church ought to be referred to him : that, according to the scriptures, the church of Rome hath never erred, nor shall err, for ever : that the Roman pontiff, being duly ordained, is, *ipso facto*, holy, through the merits of St. Peter, and according to the testimony of St. Ennodius, and others : that, with his permission, it is lawful for inferiors to accuse superiors : that he only is a true Catholic, who agrees with the church of Rome : and that the pope has power to absolve subjects from their allegiance to wicked princes ".

As the last of the propositions but two is the same with the third, with the addition only of the words " without a council," I have united them, and so reduced the whole to twenty-six in number. Catholic writers, even the most

" Gregor. Pap. VII. Epist. lib. ii. Act. Concil. tom. vi. part 1. page 1304.

candid, as Mr. Fleury, assert the following to be false, viz. That canonical election renders a pope holy: that he only may wear the imperial ornaments: and that his name only is to be recited in the church.—Others, he says, are taken from the false decretals, and are contrary to the ancient discipline; but it is to be observed that he neither reckons them false as principles now assumed, nor denies that they were contrary to the practice of the church in the time of Gregory, and long after, viz. That the pope only could depose, or replace bishops: that he only could translate them: that he only could erect, disunite, or annex bishoprics: that he alone could make new laws: and that he has power to dethrone emperors, and absolve subjects. The remaining sixteen, therefore, and particularly his supremacy and infallibility, are admitted without question as principles of the Catholic church¹².

That all the articles, excepting the three trivial ones which Mr. Fleury declares to be false, were assumed, and acted upon, may be shewn at length from the letters of Gregory VII. and from well-authenticated facts of those times. To prove this formally, seems unnecessary: but the chief of them, particularly the pope's pretensions to supremacy, not only over churches but kingdoms and empires, appear from his letters, from commissions granted to his legates¹³, from their and his conduct in councils¹⁴, from

¹² Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. liv. 63. p. 421.

¹³ Greg. Papæ VII. Epist. 64. lib. 2. Ibid. 69. lib. 4. Epist. 2. 18, 19. 26, 27, 28. lib. 2. 4, 5.

¹⁴ Acta Concil. Roman. 1m. A. D. 1074. Canon. 23, 24.

his interdicts against Henry IV. of Germany, Philip I. of France, John king of England, &c.¹⁵ and from his generally successful zeal to subject the whole kingdoms of Europe to his authority; not merely those states which were adjacent, and more civilized, but the most distant and uncultivated, the kingdoms of Bohemia, Poland, Hungary, Denmark, and Russia¹⁶.

The pope levied not only a tax from bishops at their ordination, in name of writings granted them, which was at last settled at a year's revenue; but he levied over several of the kingdoms an annual tribute, called Peter's pence, being a penny on each house¹⁷.

Conduct of
the French
clergy to the
popes.

More firm and dignified opposition, on the whole, was given to the pope by the clergy of France, than by those of any other kingdom. They struggled against several of the encroachments of the papal legates on their rights. Some of them refused to go to Rome to obtain the pallium, which was a piece of dress to distinguish the archbishops from bishops. Fulques, archbishop of Rheims, censured as an abuse the granting of it also to bishops. They declined the right, which the pope also claimed, of summoning bishops to Rome, in order even in

¹⁵ Act. Concil. Roman. 2di & 3tii, A. D. 1076. 7mi, A. D. 1080. tom. vi. p. 1. Ibid. Epist. 35, 36. lib. 1. Epist. 12. lib. 4.

¹⁶ Greg. VII, Epist. 63. lib. iii. Ibid. Epist. 70, 71. 73, 74, 75. lib. 5. Epist. 10. lib. 6. 29.

¹⁷ Petrus de Marca, Hist. de Bearne, lib. 4. Acta Concilior. tom. vi. lib. 8. epist. 23.

the

the first instance to be judged by him, instead of provincial councils.

But though the French were jealous of the papal encroachments on their ecclesiastical liberty and independence, they always paid great respect to the Holy See; and on several emergencies, when Rome was tumultuous, and when the pope judged it necessary to seek for safety in flight, he always found refuge and the most respectful hospitality in France. On the death of Honorius II. A. D. 1130, some of the cardinals, from considerations of prudence, elected Innocent II. privately, and before the death of his predecessor was publicly divulged. The other cardinals elected Anaclet II. The latter was most powerful both by his party and wealth, and chased the former out of Rome. Innocent arriving in France, found that the council of Estampes, assembled on purpose by the king Lewis the Gros, had acknowledged him as pope, and that all were prepared to welcome him. The abbé Suger, Lewis's minister and friend, was sent as far as Clugni, to wait on him; and the king, the queen, and their children, met him at St. Benedict on the Loire, where they prostrated themselves before him with the utmost veneration. By the good offices of St. Bernard, the abbot de Clairvaux, Henry king of England, who was then in France, also waited on him, and with similar reverence, at Chartres acknowledged him pope. Lothaire king of Germany and his queen in like manner met him at Liege in March A. D. 1131; where, in a procession to the cathedral church, the pope being mounted on a white horse, Lothaire walked

walked by him as his groom, holding the bridle with one hand, while he kept off the crowd with a rod which he held in the other. On the pope's return from Liege, he was met at St. Denis by the abbé Suger, at the head of his monks in procession. Several days were spent in pomp and festivity. The very streets through which his holiness passed, were hung with cloth, or tapestry. All ranks attended him, and crowded after him, to see a personage so seldom out of Rome, habited in the dress, and adorned with all the ornaments usual only in that illustrious city, and particularly with a tiara circled with gold and precious stones on his head. He visited different cities and churches, as Paris, Rheims, Compiègne, &c. and remained the whole of that year 1131 in France. He returned to Italy under the protection of Lothaire of Germany, whom he consecrated emperor; but the papal schism continued till the death of Anaclet, the anti pope, in January, A. D. 1138¹⁸.

Change in
the mode of
the pope's
election.

From the account of the origin of this schism it appears that a material change had taken place in the mode of electing the pope. Formerly he was chosen by the Roman people, including clergy, nobility, and citizens; now we find them all excluded, but the clergy of a particular description, who are called Cardinals.

There is no doubt, that so numerous and mixed a body as the whole Roman people being engaged in an election, were liable to tumult and

¹⁸ Sugerius Abbas de Vita Ludov. Grossi, Regis.

insurrection,

insurrection, which frequently happened. It was desirable to prevent this; but the people were jealous of any powerful interference, or other expedient, to control them. Bribery and disorder having become excessive, pope Nicolas II. in the council of Rome A. D. 1059, represented the enormities which had taken place on the death of Stephen, his predecessor; and the necessity of devising and adopting measures for preventing similar crimes and violence in future, "left the church," said he, "sink altogether under the storms of human passion." Wherefore he proposed, and with the concurrence of the council, consisting of one hundred and thirteen bishops²⁹, enacted, that the seven bishops of the city and territory of Rome (*comprovinciales* Cardinals. *episcopi*), and formerly known under the title of cardinal or chief bishops, should be the primary electors and consecrators of the pope: that they should call to their assistance the twenty-eight cardinal clerks, or presbyters, of the twenty-eight parishes of Rome and its territory; and that the rest of the clergy and the people should have an opportunity afterwards of expressing their concurrence. In case of difficulty and violence at Rome, it is provided in the same edict, that the primary cardinals may proceed in the election, with the concurrence even of a few clergy and people, in any other city or place where it shall be more convenient. The privilege of the emperor to approve and confirm the election, is obscurely reserved to him.

²⁹ Aët. Concilior. Harduini, tom. vi. part 1. p. 1064-5-6. Mößheim, vol. ii. Cent. 11. part 2. ch. 2. p. 268.

The seven palatine judges, and many of the clergy and people who had been accustomed to assist in the election, complained loudly of their exclusion. Many of them, as the palatine judges, the cardinal deacons, and several arch-presbyters and abbots, it was afterwards found necessary to admit. The clamours of the rest were disregarded, and gradually subsided. Two-thirds of the electors were declared the majority²⁰.

The clergy of France were not uninterested in these ecclesiastical revolutions at Rome, for they frequently attained to the honour of being cardinals, which was the highest rank in the church, next to the pope. It was rather in a subsequent period, the fourteenth century, however, that they were distinguished with the red hat and robe, and that they rose to their peculiar eminence and grandeur.

Prevalence
of simony.

It is natural to expect, that as the rank and wealth of the church increased, her offices and honours were more passionately desired and prosecuted. They were more coveted as, besides the rank arising from landed property, there was in those times no other profession capable of conferring honour and power. Hence the younger branches of noble families pressed into the church, and studied to obtain an ecclesiastical benefice, nearly equal to their rank in their fathers' house. They were not always so studious to deserve it by their piety and literature; but

²⁰ A. A. Concil. Lateran. tom. vi. p. 1673-4.

they

they had generally much personal and political influence and patronage. When they wanted that, they employed their wealth—an engine which in every age has been found successful in supplying the defects of merit; they purchased ecclesiastical offices and livings from the patrons and electors; and then holding the right of presentation, claimed, and again, by soothing some of the clergy with handsome presents, procured ordination. This mode of acquiring spiritual gifts and ecclesiastical privileges—resembling the conduct of Simon Magus, who, as is related in chap. viii. ver. 18. of the Acts of the Apostles, thought to purchase the Holy Ghost with money—has been uniformly branded by the church with the name of Simony.

In proportion as men become ignorant and gross, they lose the discernment of all that is spiritual and excellent in religion, and value its temporalities only. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, simony increased to an enormous height. Nicolas II. speaks of it in the decree against simoniacal persons in the council of Rome A. D. 1059, as infecting and corrupting every church; and that the multitude of persons involved in the prevailing evil was so great, that it became impossible to administer any remedy with rigour. Canons were made in every council, and the most tremendous anathemas issued against it, without effect.

The investiture of church-benefices granted by princes and other inferior laymen, was one, ^{Investitures.} though

though not the only, cause of the prevalence of simony ; nor was the evil of it the principal reason for the opposition which was generally given to investitures by the church. The patronage which conferred them, was one of the most abundant and inexhaustible sources of honour and power, which the crown, the nobles, and laity employed often against churchmen ; and which therefore the latter exerted themselves to grasp, and exclusively exercise. They did not choose to speak plainly, and to assign their real motives for attempting to seize the right of investitures ; but they complained, that this power of presentation had deprived the people of their ancient right of election ; that it was unbecoming and intolerable to see the ensigns of spiritual offices and honours, the ring and the crozier, or pastoral staff, conveyed to the bishop-elect by the profane hands of laymen ; that it was indeed shocking to suppose that they could confer the gifts and character essential to the priesthood, which they seemed to do in conveying a right to them ; and finally, that it gave encouragement to simony, as they frequently sold the investiture to the highest bidder ²¹.

But the real cause of the opposition of the church to lay-investitures, was the great and extensive patronage which princes, nobles, and other laymen enjoyed by them, and which they

²¹ See a distinct account of the nature and history of investitures, *Et regale*, par M. François Pinson, ancien avocat en parlement, 2 vols. 4to. 1688. A short view of its contents is given in *Journal des Sçavans*, tom. xvi. p. 199.

some-

sometimes employed as a political engine against the church, or against individuals of the clergy; the prodigious increase of strength which the pope and clergy foresaw would be added to their dominion by the possession of such a power; and lastly, that on this hinge would turn the pretensions of the emperor to interfere with the election and installation of the pope.

Pope Gregory VII. about A. D. 1070, entered with extreme warmth into this controversy, in which he was opposed chiefly by Henry IV. emperor of Germany. In assemblies of their partisans, they excommunicated and deposed one another. Many of the princes of Germany, however, favoured Gregory, and took up arms against Henry. - War succeeded, with its usual calamities. The one party chose a new emperor, and the other a new pope. Gregory died; but the minds of men were inflamed, and continued to agitate the subject during the succeeding age with equal violence. In a council at Rome A. D. 1102, pope Paschal II. renewed the sentences of his predecessor. France combined with Rome in the persecution of the emperor. A reconciliation at last took place at Worms A. D. 1122, in which mutual concessions were made:—that bishops and abbots shall be elected in the presence only of the emperor, and that in case of a difference he shall be umpire; that the person elected shall swear allegiance to the emperor; and that the emperor shall confer the right, not by ensigns of the ring and crozier, but of the sceptre, which was deemed

Henry IV.'s
contention
with Gre-
gory VII.
about in-
vestitures.

deemed a fitter emblem of temporal property and power ²².

Monastic
institutions.

During the same period, the popes, and especially pope Gregory VII. were equally ambitious of subjecting the monastic orders to their immediate dominion. Hitherto they had been under the protection of the bishop within whose diocese they were situated; and, for the time, they ranked as the vassals of the baron, or prince, of whom they held their lands. The oppressions which they occasionally suffered from both these quarters, forced them, in many cases, to appeal to the Holy See at Rome. The popes not only encouraged them, but laid a plan, which they proposed gradually to execute, for emancipating them from their dependence on the bishops, and for annexing them exclusively to the papal jurisdiction ²³.

Relaxation of discipline, and general remissness, as usual, followed these attempts to shake or divide, the established authority; the monasteries became disorderly, and the monks more

²² *Acta Concilior.* tom. vi. part 2. p. 1114. "Restitutio Investiturarum ab Henrico imperatore facta," &c. *Concessio Callixti 2^{di},* p. 1115. *Muratori Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi,* tom. vi. p. 76.

²³ *Gregor. Papæ Epist.* 6. 13, 14. 37, &c. apud *Harduini Act. Concil.* T. C. P. 1. p. 1198. 1206. See also *Dupin, Century 11. ch. 5. p. 67. edit. Lond. 1698.*

licen-

licentious : but the daily increase of their funds, and enormous wealth, contributed, more probably than any thing, to their sensual and vicious mode of living²⁴. The general respect, notwithstanding, in which they were held, and the desire of improving them, or, in some cases, the love of singularity, gave rise to new monastic institutions and orders.

The Carthusian Order of monks was instituted A.D. 1086 at Chartreux, whence they have derived their name, by Bruno, a native of Cologne, and canon of Rheims, one of the most learned men of his time. Disgusted with the licentiousness of Manasse his archbishop, and generally dissatisfied with the manners and society of those among whom he lived, he prevailed on six more of his associates to retire with him into the frightful desert of Chartreux, near Grenoble in Dauphiné. His design was to conform strictly to the rule of St. Benedict; but he afterwards added several other rules, enjoining on the members of the Order the most extreme austerity :—that they were not to leave their cells unless when they went to church, nor to speak to any person without leave; that they should not reserve any provisions till next day; that their beds should be straw, covered with coarse woollen cloth; that they should be clothed with hair-cloth, a cowl, hose, and a cloak; and that at meals they should keep their hands on the table, their eyes on the dish, their attention on the reader, and their hearts on God. By the

²⁴ Mosheim, vol. ii. part 2. ch. 2. § 22.

charter granted to them by Hugh bishop of Grenoble, no woman was allowed to pass through their territory, nor any fisher, or hunter. Every one in his own cell dressed his own victuals, which were bread, vegetables, and water; excepting on Sundays and Tuesdays, when they ate a little cheese, and fish, if they received any in a present. Their number, both in members and monasteries, gradually increased; but few females ever submitted to the severity of their rules²⁵.

Cisterians. The Cistercian monks sprung from the monastery of Molesne, in the diocese of Langres, in Burgundy. A few of the members of that monastery, sensible of the general licentiousness that prevailed in it, and which they could not correct by remaining there, resolved, with Robert their abbot, who agreed to accompany them, and with the permission of the papal legate, who approved of their sanctity, to retire to the desert of Citeaux (*Cistercium*), five leagues from Dijon, in the diocese of Chalon. Having cleared the ground of wood and bushes, for it was totally wild, they began, A.D. 1098, to live in huts, constructed of wood, which they found on the spot. They were patronised by Eudes duke of Burgundy, who, at the request of the archbishop of Lyons, for a considerable time maintained them. Their austerity and mode of living resembled that of the Carthusians, but were not carried to the same excess. A num-

²⁵ Fleury, Hist. Eccles. tom. xiii. p. 515. and tom. xiv. p. 38.

ber of years passed away, without any accession to their number; but at last they were joined by St. Bernard, whose sanctity and eloquence drew the public attention, and recommended them. In the year 1113, they founded another abbey at La Herte, in the diocese of Chalon; and from that time they went on continually increasing. This Order may be considered rather as a reformation of the prevailing practice, and a return to the rules of St. Benedict, than a new institution. They laid aside all the luxury of dress, and denied themselves the indulgence of appetite, but do not appear to have gone to the rigour of the Carthusians²⁵.

The Order of Clugni was founded A.D. 910 in that city, by William I. duke of Aquitaine, and Berno formerly abbot of Gignac. Like the preceding, it was originally intended as a reformation only of the rule of St. Benedict; but as it increased and flourished rapidly, it gradually degenerated as much as the Benedictines, from which it sprung. The original monastery at Clugni, which became one of the most magnificent in its buildings and the richest in its property of any in France, preserved and maintained an authority over all the branches which descended from it, or which chose to be connected with it. By this it was more distinguished from the Benedictines, than by any other circumstance. They were subject to the bishops of the diocese; but the monks of Clugni acknowledged the superiority of the abbot,

Order of
Clugni.

²⁵ Fleury, Hist. Ecclef. tom. xiv. p. 176.

or archabbot, of Clugni only. Their example, however, was followed by other Orders. In this monastery the famous Abelard found refuge from the persecution of his enemies, and especially of St. Bernard; here he enjoyed the hospitality and friendship of Peter, its venerable abbot, and quietly prepared himself by meditation and devotion for his latter end²⁷.

Many other inferior Orders took their rise at this period; but they either declined and disappeared, so as not to deserve particular notice in history, or will fall more particularly to be mentioned afterwards, when they became more distinguished.

Hospitallers, or Knights of Malta.

The Hospitallers, or Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the Knights Templars, were originally monastic institutions.

After the death of Charlemagne, and of his good friend and ally, the caliph Aaron, the christian pilgrims who visited Jerusalem lost the respect and protection which they had enjoyed; and though still allowed for a sum of money to visit the holy sepulchre, they were not permitted to rest in the city all night, nor scarcely to receive at any time the smallest refreshment. By the influence and good offices of some Italian merchants, an order was obtained to build a house for their accommodation and entertainment near the sepulchre. This mansion was soon

²⁷ Hist. Litteraire de la France, tom. ix. Vie de Abelard: Hist. Generale de Burgogne, par les Moines Benedict. tom. i. Heylot Histoire des Ordres, tom. v.

filled with pilgrims and monks from Europe, who were supported by contributions and alms from their countrymen. They soon extended their building, added some chapels for religious worship, and devoted themselves to the service of the European christians, who travelled to Jerusalem; they also assumed the rule, and were subject to the Order, of the Benedictines.

They were exposed to great hardships A. D. 1065, when the Turks conquered Jerusalem; but they were found so charitable, and useful to all ranks, especially to the poor and sick during the crusades, that they were universally extolled and patronised. Some men of rank were ambitious to have their names enrolled among them, and their funds augmented daily by the contributions which they received. The regular habit which they assumed, was a black robe, with a white linen cross of eight points fastened on it near the heart. The pope Paschal II. confirmed their institution, and conferred on them several important privileges. They were endowed from time to time with extensive properties of land, and their numbers became considerable. They resolved, in case of emergency, to assume the sword in their own defence, and for the protection of the European christians who visited them. In a word, they became a kind of permanent body of crusaders, subject to the king of Jerusalem; and adopted into their institution a rule, by which they professed themselves to be soldiers of Jesus Christ, bound to protect the christians, and their ancient city of Jerusalem, against the infidels.

Raymond,

Raymond, their first military grand-master, divided them into three classes : the first class consisted of men of birth and rank in the army, who were men of arms, chevaliers, or knights ; they wore armour, and were mounted on horseback. The second class was composed of priests and monks, who acted as chaplains, and waited on the sick and wounded at home or abroad. The third class consisted of serving brethren (*frères servans*), who waited on the knights, and fought by their side. The whole body became so great and powerful as to make conquests of Cyprus and Rhodes ; and, when driven out of these at last by the Turks, they obtained a grant of the island of Malta from the emperor Charles V., from which they have since been called Knights of Malta ²⁸.

Knights
Templars.

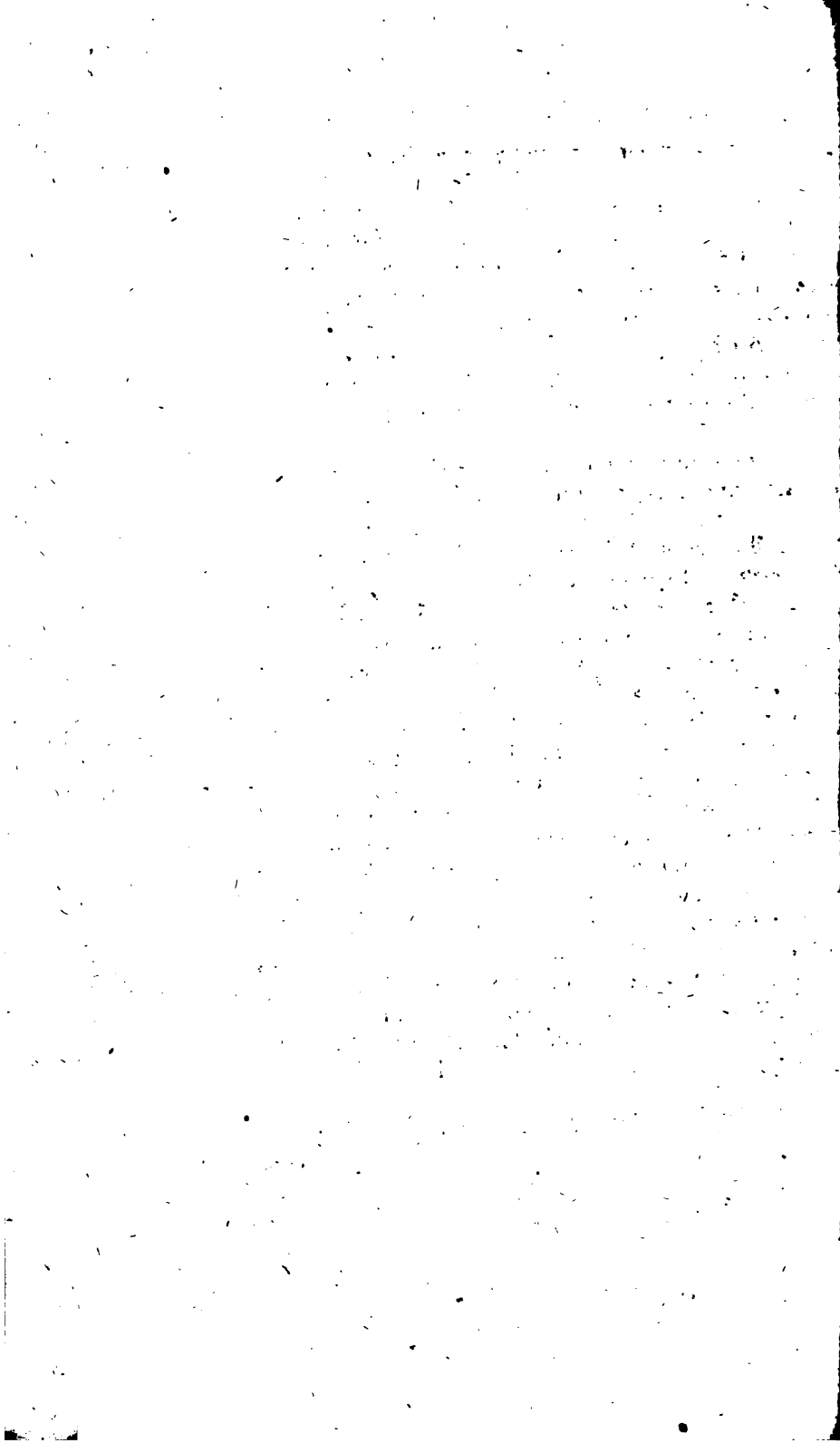
The Knights Templars arose at a much later period, in imitation of the Hospitallers, whom we have just now described. Hugh de Paganis, Geoffrey de St. Aldemar, and some other French gentlemen, observing the danger of pilgrims in travelling to Jerusalem and returning from it, associated for their protection, and were accustomed, at first privately, to meet them, when informed, and again to accompany them on their return, through the most gloomy defiles and dangerous passages. From the house which they occupied near the Temple of Jerusalem, they were called Templars, or Knights of the Temple. Hugh, their chief, having been dispatched to

²⁸ Heylot, Hist. des Ordres, tom. iii. Vertot, Hist. des Chev. tom. i.

Rome,

Rome, to implore a new crusade against the infidels, embraced the opportunity of requesting permission to form a new religious and military Order, like that of the Hospitallers. The pope recommended him and his request to a council of the church; which was then assembled at Troyes A. D. 1128. in France. The council approved of their pious zeal, and ordained a rule for their government to be forthwith drawn up by St. Bernard, who was then one of their number, in the name of the pope and patriarch of Jerusalem. The chief articles of that rule, which consist of seventy-two, were, that they should wear a white robe, with a red cross over the heart: that they should usually observe the whole service which was prescribed by the other Orders every day; but, when they were necessarily prevented from this by attendance on their military duty, it might be enough that they recited thirteen Paters, or the Lord's Prayer in Latin, thirteen times in the morning, seven times during the day, and nine times in the evening: that they might eat flesh three days only in a week, Sunday, Tuesday, and Thursday: that every knight should entertain three horses and a squire: that they should wear no gold nor silver bits or spurs; even if they received them in a present, they must be so covered that the precious metals do not appear: that they should neither give nor receive any epistle, not even from their parents or nearest friends, without leave of the master of the Order²⁹. This Order flourished for some time; but their wealth pro-

²⁹ Acta Concilior. tom. vi. part 1. p. 1134. & seq. Chronicon Joau. Brompton, p. 100. edit. 1652.



CHAP. III.

The History of Civil Government in France,
from the Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D.
987, to the Death of Lewis VIII. A. D. 1226.

SECT. I.

Of the Ranks of Men.

IT is remarkable that nothing effectual was ever *servitude*, attempted for the emancipation of slaves, before the promulgation of christianity.

The Jewish laws did not prohibit slavery; they in Judea; only moderated its rigour. Hebrew slaves obtained their freedom, unless they voluntarily and judicially declared their preference of servitude at the end of seven years. Foreign slaves enjoyed not this privilege; but, from the spirit of the law, "Remember that thou wast a bondman in Egypt," it is probable that they were treated with humanity.

After

" If thou buy an Hebrew servant, six years he shall serve; and in the seventh, he shall go out free for nothing. If he came in by himself, he shall go out by himself; if he were married, then his wife shall go out with him. If his master have given him a wife, and she have born him sons

Greece.

After the subjection of the populous cities of Helos and Messenia by Sparta, the number of slaves in Greece was so great as to endanger the state. Thousands of them were sometimes wantonly massacred. Among a people celebrated for their civilization and wisdom, and love of liberty, we find no public law which favoured slaves, but such as immediate interest and general policy required².

Roman empire.

The number of slaves was still greater in the Roman empire, than in Greece. The government declined to number them, lest they should know their superiority, and attempt any insurrection; but it is certain that they were far more numerous than the free citizens. Four hundred slaves were not unfrequently the establishment of a single family. C. Cæcil. Claudius Mitorus, in the reign of Augustus, left at his death, though his property had been some time on the decline, four thousand one hundred and sixteen persons in slavery³.

Yet this great people, who boasted so much of their civilization, literature, and liberty,

"or daughters, the wife and her children shall be her master's,
 "and he shall go out by himself. If the servant shall plainly
 "say, I love my master, my wife, and my children; I will
 "not go out free: then he shall serve him for ever." Exod.
 xxi. 4—11. Levit. xxv. 39.

² In Attica, the slaves were to the citizens as 400,000 to 30,000. Gillies's Hist. of Greece, chap. 4. and 5. Potter's Greek Antiquities, vol. i. ch. 9. and 10.

³ Plin. Hist. Nat. lib. xxxiii. c. 10. Juvenal, Satir. iii.
 149.

enacted

enacted no laws in favour of their slaves, but such as became absolutely necessary to prevent public and shocking cruelties.

It was the general spirit, rather than any particular law of christianity, which rendered it finally, though gradually, successful in the abolition of slavery in Europe. Christ-ianity.

The views which it gives of the origin of men; of their common nature, infirmities, and end; of their mutual relations and dependence, and of the various duties and interests arising from these relations; are surely calculated to excite and strengthen the sentiments of human compassion and kindness; but its peculiar doctrines and institutions must contribute still more to animate and move the heart with brotherly love. He who believes the love of God to us all as it is represented in the gospel, will feel himself constrained to do good, as he hath opportunity, to all. The faith of redemption by one Saviour, and sanctification by one Spirit, of adoption into one heavenly family, of various and interesting spiritual privileges by the same divine favour, of subjection to the same authority and laws, of final accountableness to the same Judge, and the hope of future and eternal communion with one another, with Christ and God, must have a powerful influence to inspire mutual sympathy, and to produce the manifold effects of love and beneficence.

These then were the views, the doctrines, the sentiments, and the duties, which Jesus Christ

and his apostles preached. They attempted no direct interference with the relations of civil society; they simply preached the gospel, administered its simple ordinances, and trusted that their silent, however slow and invisible operation, would gradually ameliorate the condition of slaves.

Instead of directly recommending general emancipation, they exhorted the slaves themselves to patience and contentment in their servitude. "Let every man," said they, "abide in the same calling wherein he was called. Art thou called, being a servant? care not for it; but if thou mayest be made free, use it as a father."

When Paul apprehended the runaway slave Onesimus, and converted him to christianity, he not only did not emancipate him, which, according to law, would have been injustice; but with affection and confidence he restored him to his master Philemon, with this recommendation indeed, "that he should receive him not now as a servant, but above a servant, a brother beloved."

The cotemporaries and successors of the apostles, animated with the same spirit, preached the same doctrines. "The higher orders of men," said they, "cannot exist without the lower; the union of all ranks is necessary and profitable,

* 1 Cor. vii. 20, 21.

"like

“ like that of all the members in one body. Let
 “ there be due subordination then, in which the
 “ true dignity and beauty of society consist.
 “ Let not the strong neglect the weak, nor the
 “ rich the poor, neither let the inferior disre-
 “ spect, but revere, his superior.”

Nor was their preaching in vain. So early as the second century, the charity of christians was employed to ransom their brethren from imprisonment and slavery. Still they attempted no act of injustice, nor presumed to interfere with civil law or government; they simply used such means as were lawful, and within their own reach. They collected alms, especially on solemn occasions, as on receiving the eucharist; and with these collections they purchased the freedom of christian slaves.

The influence of christianity on the state of servitude in the course of two or three centuries was so great, as to require public and solemn regulation. The disposition of christians, and their zeal to emancipate their slaves, appeared so frequent and so ardent, that the church and state both interposed to prevent the danger which might have arisen from doing it privately, and in too great numbers at once. At the request of the church, Constantine published an edict, June 7, A. D. 316, authorising the eman-

* Clement. Roman. Epist. cap. 37, 38. 46. 54. See also Tertullian. advers. Gentes, § 39. De Coron. Milit. c. 13. Lactantii Institut. lib. vi.

* Justin. Martyr. Apol. ii. p. 99. Tertulliani Apol. c. 39. Dr. Whitby on 1 Cor. vii. 23.

cipation

cipation of slaves within the church only, and in presence of the bishop. In the divine sanctuary it appeared as an offering of gratitude, and as an act of charity and devotion. By its publicity and solemnity, it not only moderated the zeal and precipitancy of christians, and so prevented the disorders threatened by the sudden liberty of too great a number, but it secured to those slaves who were emancipated, legal evidence and protection against capricious masters, who sometimes repented, and reclaimed them. This regulation was confirmed and enlarged A. D. 321. The council of Carthage, A. D. 401, wanted the power of emancipation to be lodged absolutely with the church. This the state refused. Slaves continued to be considered as civil property; and the church was only permitted to regulate and sanction the voluntary acts of individuals⁷.

Great numbers, however, were emancipated, as expressions of christian charity and devotion; and especially on great events and joyful occasions, as marriages, births, baptisms, and other various successes in life; by latter wills on death; and by cathedral churches and monasteries on their own territories. Though the church was not allowed the absolute power of emancipation, yet she omitted no opportunity, as far as her authority extended, of meliorating the condition of slaves in their servitude, and of protecting them after they legally obtained their

⁷ Justinian. Cod. tit. xiii. l. 1. Aët. Concilior. Aurel. A. D. 511.

liberty.

liberty. Few ecclesiastical councils were held from the fourth to the thirteenth century, without ordaining some canon in their favour⁸.

Ordination to priests' and deacons' orders, which, *ipso facto*, conferred irrevocable liberty, being a device too frequently resorted to for the purpose of emancipation, was necessarily prohibited. It was often granted without the master's consent, and so defrauded him of his property, and tended to general disorder; severe penalties therefore were enacted against any bishop who should grant such ordination⁹.

Pope Alexander III., towards the end of the twelfth century, declared slavery a yoke which Christendom ought no longer to bear; and, by a canon, ordained a general emancipation.

Clovis I. granted liberty to a great number of slaves at his baptism.

Lewis VIII. adhering to the maxims of his predecessors, who sometimes at their accession, and sometimes on their demise, gave liberty to the slaves of their household, or domain, distinguished the commencement of his reign by en-

⁸ The following may be enumerated as examples; and the *Acta Conciliorum Harduini* may be generally referred to. Council of Elvira, A. D. 305; of Gangra, 370; of Orange, 441; of Agatha, 506; of Epaone, 517; of Orleans, 541 and 549; of Mafcou, 581; of Toledo, 589; of Seville, 590.

⁹ Council of Orleans, A. D. 511 and 549; of Worms, 868; of Bourges, 1031.

franchising.

franchising many of the villains, who were still very numerous in France.

The queen-mother of St. Lewis, during her administration, from pious motives, caused many slaves to be liberated.

Lewis X. was the first king who aimed at general emancipation by law. His ordonnance is dated July 3, 1313. "Considering," says that ordonnance, "that all men are by nature free, and that our nation is called the kingdom of the Franks, or freemen, and desirous that it may be so in fact, with the advice of our grand council we ordain, that slavery shall cease over all our kingdom," &c. The ordonnance itself, which is written in the language and style of the fourteenth century, may be consulted by the curious below".

These

" Ordonnance of Lewis X. for the manumission of slaves.
 " Loya par la grace de Dieu Roy de France, & de Navarre, à nos amés & féauls mestre Saince de Chaumont, & mestre Nicole de Bray, salut & dilection. Come selonc le droit de nature chascuns doit estre franc, & par aucuns usage, ou coustumes qui de grant ancienneté ont esté introduites, & gardées jusques ci en nostre royaume, & par aventure pour le meffait de leurs prédécesseurs, moult de personnes de nostre commun peuple soient encheus en lieu de servitude, & de diverse conditions qui moult nous desplet. Nous considérans que nostre royaume est dit, & nommé le royaume des Francs, & veillans que la chose soit accordant au nom, & que la condition des geas amende de nous en la venue de nostre nouvel government, par deslibération de nostre grant conseil, avons ordonné, & ordonnons que généralement par tout nostre royaume de tant comme il peut appartenir à nous, & à nos successeurs, telles servitudes soient ramenés à franchises, & à tous ceux
 " qui

These facts all tend to show the gradual influence of christianity on the personal and civil liberty of men. It operated at first secretly ; it began to shew its effects by private means and collective bodies ; it aroſe to zeal, which re-

“ qui de curia, ou aſſenſet, ou de nouvel par mariage,
 “ ou par reſidence de lieux de ſerve condition ſont en cheu,
 “ on pourroient eſcheoir, ou lien de ſervitude, franchise ſoit
 “ donné o bones & conſvenable conditions ; & pour ce eſpe-
 “ cialement que noſtre commun peuple qui par le collé-
 “ teurs, ſergens, & d’autres officians qui ou temps paſſé ont
 “ été députés ſur le fait de mains mortes & formariages, ne
 “ ſoient plus grevés ne domagiés par ces choſes, ſi come ſi
 “ ont eſté juſques ci, laquelle choſe nous deſplet, & pour-
 “ ce que les autres ſeigneurs, qui ont homes de cors preſent
 “ exemple à nous de eus ramener à franchise.

“ Nous qui de voſtre leauté, & approuvé diſcrecion nous
 “ ſions tout à plain vous commettons & mandons par la te-
 “ neur de ces lettres que vous aliés en la baillie de Senlis,
 “ & es reſſors d’icelle, & à tous les lieux, villes, commu-
 “ nautés & perſonnes ſingulieres qui de la dite franchise
 “ vous requerront, traitiés, & accordiés avec eus de cer-
 “ taines compositions, par leſqueles ſouffisant reſcompensa-
 “ tion nous ſoit faite des emolumens qui de dites ſervitudes
 “ poient venir à nous, & à nos ſucceſſeurs, & a eus donnée
 “ de tant comme il puet toucher nous & nos ſucceſſeurs, ge-
 “ neral & perpetuel franchise en la maniere que deſſus eſt ;
 “ ſelonc ce que plus pleinement le vous avons dit, deſclaire,
 “ & commis de bouche. Et nous promettons en bonne foy
 “ que nous pour nous & nos ſucceſſeurs ratifierons, & approu-
 “ verons, tendrons, & ferons tenir & garder tout ce que
 “ vous ferés & accorderés ſur les choſes deſſus dites, & les
 “ lettres que vous donnés ſur vos traités, compositions, &
 “ accors de franchises à villes, communautés, lieux, ou per-
 “ ſonnes ſingulieres nous les agreons dès orendroit & leur
 “ en donrons les noſtres ſeur ce toutes fois que nous en ſe-
 “ rons requis. Et donions en mandement à tous nos juſti-
 “ ciers, & ſubgiés que en toutes ces choſes ils obéiſſent à
 “ vous & entendent diligamment. Donné à Paris le tiers
 “ jour de Juliet, l’an de grace mil trois cens & quinze.”

quired

quired restraint and regulation; it appeared on such occasions as move the heart to great and generous deeds; and it entered at last into political views, and produced positive statutes in favour of general liberty.

It may be added, that the crusades, which were undoubtedly the effects of christian zeal, mingled indeed with worldly and political motives, contributed greatly to the abolition of slavery. The zeal of the nobles, as well as of the clergy, to enlist soldiers, and to raise money, made them enfranchise all who would serve personally, procure others in their room, or of all who could advance a small sum of money as the ransom of their liberty.

The decline of the feudal system, and the rise of cities, gradually completed the abolition of slavery, and formed a new class in the ranks of men.

Of the Rise of Cities.

THE natural principles of liberty are strengthened by society. Many men united are more bold to claim, and more powerful to maintain and defend the common privileges, which a solitary individual would timidly relinquish. The turbulence and disorder of the feudal times produced a disposition in the lower ranks to associate for their defence. Sometimes they solicited the patronage of a military leader, under whose stand-
ard

and they ranged themselves when war was necessary. At other times, they were courted by a neighbouring baron, or by the king, who, in return for their military service, conferred on them the privileges of burgh, incorporation, and government.

Some of the cities of France retained a part at least of the ancient liberties and immunities conferred on them by the Romans. They enjoyed their magistrates, their peculiar customs, and revenue. Paris, Lyons, and Marseilles, may be considered as some of the patterns, which were imitated in the constitution of more modern towns.

It became the interest of an inferior baron to encourage the association of his villain families in one place, and to confer on them privileges worthy of their regard and protection. In teaching them to defend their own rights, he actually trained them to aid him in opposing his more powerful neighbours. The village, or town, was generally situated near the cathedral, or castle; and municipal rights were either the motive or the recompence of the attachment and valour of the citizens.

Charters of this kind may be found in France A. D. 974, long before the twelfth century, and the reign of Lewis VI. or the Gros, the period usually understood as the æra of the rise of cities.

* Petrus de Marca, Limes Hispanic. p. 909.

That

Of the po-
licy of
Lewis VI.

That prince, however, had the discernment and wisdom to favour and promote these townships. For a sum of money, or an annual rent, he incorporated them, conferred on them the right of holding property; of internal regulation and government; of judicature; of revenue; of military association; of a seal; a bell, and bell-fry, or tower²².

They were not only entitled to defend themselves against invaders and plunderers; but they were generally bound, as royal vassals, to obey the summons, and march under the standard of the king. They were conducted by the provost, or mayor, and were accompanied generally by the curates of the parishes.

of Philip
Augustus;

When Philip Augustus appeared capable of protecting them, many of the towns belonging to the nobles and inferior barons threw off the feudal yoke entirely, and received their charters from the crown. The desire of popularity disposed both the king and nobles thus, as rivals, to respect the rights, and to solicit the favour, of the people.

of the cru-
sades,

The crusaders had great influence also in promoting the rise and establishment of cities. Some cities advanced money; some raised troops, as the price of the privileges which they obtained from the church and nobles; and some of them

²² D'Achery Spicilegium, tom. ix, x, xi, & xii. Hist. Lit. tom. xi. p. 660. Ordonnances des Rois de France, tom. ii. Muratori, tom. i. & iv.

took advantage of the absence, or the weakness, of their superiors, to assert their freedom, and extort charters of community.

On being formed into a corporate body, the citizens bound themselves by a solemn oath, to defend one another; to maintain their property and privileges against all aggressors; and to be subject to their municipal laws and government. Their constitution, and end.

Next to the means of their common safety and order, they studied the means of their prosperity in the arts and trade. From Italy, and from the east, the crusaders introduced, on their return, such information and experience as they had been able to acquire. Emulation and industry prompted invention, and secured success. No less jealous of their property than of their freedom, they framed laws as favourable as might be expected in these times, both for the satisfaction of the creditor, and the personal liberty and safety of the debtor.

The following are the principal articles of the charter granted by Lewis VI. to the city of Laon, A. D. 1128:

That it shall not be lawful for any one to take vengeance on another, whether bond or free, for any crime: without a legal warrant, he shall not even apprehend him; or, if that may be necessary, it shall only be to detain him, and to conduct him to the legal judge. Charter of Laon, by Lewis VI.

That any burghers who may have injured a clerk, a noble, or a merchant, shall be summoned to appear, within four days, before the mayor

and his assessors; and shall there pay the fine adjudged. If contumacious, he shall be banished the city, with all his family; and if any attempt shall be made by the bishop, or baron of the district, to protect him against justice, his property shall be forfeited and destroyed.

That personal injury and murder shall be punished by retaliation, member for member, and life for life: the judge, however, may accept a fine as compensation, if he shall see cause.

That a burghers shall not marry a woman of another jurisdiction, without the consent of the superior thereof.

That strangers shall not be admitted as citizens, without leave of their former masters.

That four deniers shall be paid each term to the king, besides the taxes to which property without the burgh may be liable.

That if any noble shall injure the community, or a member thereof, he shall make reparation within fifteen days, on being duly warned and required so to do; but if he fail, his people and property within the district shall be seized.

That for these privileges, granted to the city of Laon, the king shall be entitled to a night's lodging at three different times in the year, if he shall choose to visit that city; or to twenty livres in lieu of it¹³.

Importance
of cities

In proportion to the number and magnitude of the cities, they grew in importance. They added a new and powerful influence to the

¹³ D'Achery, Spicileg. tom. iii. p. 481. Paris. edit. 1723.

crown, and proportionally diminished the power of the nobles. Thus a new order of men arose in the state: mean, indeed, as individuals, for they were generally but one step above the rank of slaves; but important and powerful as a body, counteracting and slowly dissolving the vast system of feudal policy.

They enjoyed within themselves that defence, by means of their city-walls and armed associations, which they had often sought in vain, as *arriere vassals* and slaves, from their lords and masters.

Nor was this their enfranchisement any loss, but a gain, to their superiors. If a baron, an abbot, or a bishop, he found within their walls an armed strength, which his own castle could not have afforded him. On the other hand, as he could not absolutely command their obedience, they were a restraint on his ambition; they taught him to relax his stateliness and pride. He could still by their charter levy from them an annual or incidental supply, to a stipulated amount; but they enjoyed the privilege of proportioning it by a certain rate among themselves.

If the king was their superior, he derived from them similar advantages. They recruited his army; supplied his treasury; and, as the rivals of the nobles, added a considerable weight and splendour to the crown.

They formed an intermediate body between the king, the nobles, and the clergy; to whom

each of these occasionally appealed ; and whom each was desirous of attaching to his interest.

Sometimes it was extremely dangerous to violate the privileges of a community, and to provoke their resentment.

Massacre of
Gualricus,
or Guadri,
for violating
the charter
of Laon.

Guadri, bishop of Laon, after having concurred with the king in granting a charter of community to his episcopal city, prevailed with him, by the offer of a large sum of money, to nullify it ; and then proceeded, as in former times, to levy a considerable tax from the disfranchised inhabitants. They were justly enraged, and solemnly swore vengeance on the faithless bishop. Armed with swords, bows, axes, clubs, and spears, they rushed into the cathedral ; and, though his friends and servants had time to assemble, and make a vigorous defence, it was vain ; many of them were killed : Guadri, who fought some time desperately in his own defence, at last disguised himself, and disappeared ; but being found, in the habit of a valet, concealed in a large cask, he was dragged from it by the hair of the head, and cut to pieces with axes.

The people, once inspired with the sentiments of liberty, felt a growing dignity and importance. This spirit gradually diffused itself over the kingdom. The rural slaves and villains became ambitious of enjoying privileges like those of the inhabitants of towns. The generous spirit of pope Alexander III., which he could only express in the words of an ecclesiastical canon, at
last

last animated Lewis X. and Philip V., and produced those ordonances, the same in substance, by which all men were acknowledged to be naturally free; which declared Frenchmen especially to have immemorially enjoyed the name of Franks, or freemen; and therefore ordained enfranchisements to be granted, on just and reasonable terms, over all the kingdom¹⁴.

Chivalry.

ANOTHER order of men arose from the institution of chivalry: an institution, which, however singular, wild, and extravagant in the common estimation of men, contributed not a little to the improvement of Europe. The curious, interesting, and important nature of the subject entitles it to particular consideration.

Generosity, which prompts men to succour the oppressed and the helpless: valour, which

¹⁴ The constitutions of these cities, granted in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, are all similar to that of Laon, above-mentioned. That of Tournay, by Philip Augustus, A.D. 1187, is said expressly to be founded on their ancient customs and practice. D'Achery, Spicileg. tom. iii. p. 551. That of Arras, by Lewis VIII. A.D. 1211, and renewed by count Robert, A. D. 1268, is said to be founded on the liberties and immunities conferred on them by his predecessors agreeably to their ancient customs. Ibid. p. 572. See also, p. 550. 553. and 595.

is discouraged by no danger, which glows with the ambition of humbling an oppressor, and triumphing over an adversary : patriotism, which prefers and promotes the public interest : religion, which exalts her friends to the friendship and enjoyment of God : and sexual respect and love, so natural to the ardent mind of youth, appear as the chief ingredients in the spirit of chivalry. They are natural to the human mind ; but the circumstances of particular times moulded them into a peculiar form.

In a rude age, and under feeble governments, the wants of men, and their aversion from industry, have tempted them to frequent incursions and trespasses on their neighbours. The Assyrian principalities, the more ancient Grecian states, and the European feudal governments, furnish similar examples of anarchy and oppression, of generosity and valour, of religion and gallantry.

In such times, the weak, exposed to the powerful and ferocious, courted the protection or moved the compassion of the brave. The recompence was high respect, and grateful attachment ; the admiration of the fair, the blessing of the religious, the emulation of youth, and the esteem and honour of men of all ranks.

The age and country of Abraham, of Agamemnon, and of Thora, removed from both the extremes of great rudeness and great refinement, though somewhat similar, were far from being

so peculiarly favourable, as the feudal ages of Europe, to the spirit and character of chivalry".

The rudiments of chivalry may be traced, with the principles of the feudal system, in the manners of the Gauls and Germans, as described by Cæsar and Tacitus.

No youth of rank among the Franks and other invaders of the Roman empire, assumed arms of his own accord; nor was he allowed to sit at meat with men of arms, even with his own father, till he was solemnly invested with armour. Alboin, king of the Lombards, was first girded with his sword by Turismond, king of the Gepidæ. Under the Carlovingian race, the severest punishment that could be inflicted on a Frenchman, was to deprive him of his armour and military character. Every chieftain famous in arms was resorted to by the youth, who were ambitious of resembling him.

The deep and powerful superstition of the tenth and eleventh centuries mingled in all human transactions, even in the military affairs of men. Nothing was undertaken without fasting, prayers, and many ceremonies.

When disengaged from war, and shut up in their castles, the military youth, who were attendant on their chieftains, enjoyed all the softer amusements arising from perpetual and easy intercourse with

" Gen. xiv. 1. Hurd's Letters on Chivalry. Torf. Hist. Norweg. tom. iv. Mallet's Northern Antiquities.

the fair sex. Love and gallantry formed the chief character of their pastimes; and when they returned to the more serious services of war, they converted the trivial memorials, the ribands, gold chains, and other tokens of female favour, into warlike ensigns: the name of the favoured fair was the word, or cry, with which they were animated to fight.

The crusades, in which religion and war united with such enthusiasm, and in which ambition, fame, and private affection were sometimes at variance, but often more happily blended, contributed above all to complete the character, form, and system of chivalry.

The youth who were intended for this profession, were withdrawn from female management at the age of seven, and committed to the tuition of some chieftain. The courts and castles of the great were schools always open for their reception; in which they were hospitably maintained, and suitably educated. Attachment to the chieftain, or knight, was deemed by him a sufficient recompence: his glory consisted in the number of youth who were attached to him.

Pages, va-
lets, &c.

They were called, first, pages, varlets, or valets, sergents, or *servientes*, according to their age, and the service assigned them about the person of their lord. They carried his messages, served him at table, kept his armour, and performed any other office; which afforded them opportunities of observing him, and of learning attention, expertness, and patience. They were

at

at the same time trained to the most respectful and gallant attentions to the ladies : they were taught to fear God, and to reverence the priests, the churches, and the sacred ceremonies¹⁶.

Under the influence of this culture, these ^{Esquires} young men grew up, frequently in numbers together, for five or six years, in the strictest bonds of friendship, and with the utmost attention to decorum ; then, with great pomp and solemnity, they were advanced to the rank of esquires (*escuyers*, grooms). Conducted to the altar by their parents or nearest friends, each holding a large wax candle in his hand, the priest took a sword from the altar, and, having blessed it with various ceremonies, girded it on the candidate.

Thus advanced, some of these esquires waited on the person of the knight : some had charge of the bed-chambers of the castle, others carved at table, and attended to the guests : some presided over the liquors, and others over the stables. The first of these was reckoned the most honourable station ; but they were interchanged, that each might be duly qualified for the discharge of all.

After such an apprenticeship of seven years, they were admitted to more easy and familiar intercourse with the knights and ladies, and to all the sports and amusements of the court.

¹⁶ Rigord, 204, 205, 206. M. de la Curne de la S^e Palaye.

They

They attended their lord to hunting and war. In combat, they posted themselves behind him, to observe every motion, to learn, and if necessary to assist him, to furnish him with a new lance or a fresh horse, and to parry strokes which were unfairly intended against him. When the adversary yielded, they seized and conducted the prisoners. In the exercise of these offices, they were sometimes called *poursuivants*.

Knighthood was not conferred on them till the age of twenty-one: sovereigns and princes of the blood only were excepted, and sometimes dubbed in their cradle, that they might not, even in infancy, be held inferior to any of their subjects.

Knights. The ceremony of investing a knight, seems to have attained all its solemnity about the beginning of the eleventh century. Reviving then from her depression and disorder, France saw the importance of rousing young men to military fame, by all means, sensible, romantic, and religious.

Preparation.

Sieges, embarkations, victories, festivals, and other such public occasions, were the usual seasons for conferring the honour of knighthood. In the field, it was performed summarily; but, on ordinary occasions, the solemnity commenced with watching, fasting, and various austerities. Whole nights were spent in prayer, with the assistance of a priest and near relations: religious discourses suitable to the occasion were delivered; confession of sins was made; divers washings were

were employed ; white raiment was put on ; and the eucharist was received.

The candidate having finished all the preliminary ceremonies, which lasted several days, was attended to the church by his friends in solemn procession. Having a sword slung in a scarf from his neck, he advanced to the altar, and presented the sword to the priest, who consecrated, and returned it. With joined hands he then turned to those who were to gird on his armour : he presented the sword which the priest had hallowed ; and he solemnly declared, and swore, that his motive and end in entering into this order, was to maintain and promote the honour and interest of religion and chivalry.

The assistants, some of whom were ladies, ^{Installation.} having now bound on his armour and suitable ornaments, he knelt before the sovereign, or presiding knight, who, by three strokes with the flat of the naked sword on the neck or shoulders, dubbed him a knight. Sometimes it was done with the palm of the hand on the cheek. In either case, the action was accompanied with these words : “ In the name of God, of St. Michael, and St. George, I make thee a knight. “ Be worthy, brave, and loyal.” Then, his buckler and helmet being also put on, he grasped his spear, and, walking forth, leaped without stirrup on his horse, performed several courses and flourishes, to shew his dexterity, amidst the acclamations of his friends and of the multitude, who usually attended to admire the ceremony.

Thus

Duties.

Thus installed, the great duties of a knight were, to defend his country, the church, his liege lord, widows, orphans, and all who were oppressed, or who reasonably required his aid.

The qualities in which he was expected to excel, were piety, chastity, modesty, temperance, loyalty, courage, truth, and generosity.

When not engaged in the more serious duties of their profession, knights spent their time in tilts and tournaments, which were frequent and interesting among the customs of those times.

Classes.

There were three different classes of knights : a knight wearing a banneret, maintained one hundred and fifty horsemen armed : a knight wearing a pennon, thirty : a bas chevalier, a few, or none, as he was or was not able.

A knight was absolutely independent and free ; he was not subject to vassalage : no toll was exacted from him, nor could any one obstruct him on a march : recognised at a distance by his dress, which was scarlet, or by his ensign, a banneret, or a pennon, and by his attendants, the gates of a castle or palace were thrown open to him, and every thing assumed the appearance of welcome. Trained thus to the highest sense of dignity and honour, and often entrusted with the most delicate and important commissions, knights were universally respected, and often raised to the first offices of state.

But

But if, as must have happened in a body ^{Degradation.} which after some time became so numerous, they were found capable of meanness, they were every where shunned and insulted ; or if guilty of any crime relevant to infer punishment, their degradation was awful.

By order of the court of chivalry, the condemned knight was conducted to a public scaffold, where his arms were broken and trampled on ; the achievement of his crown was effaced, and trailed in the dirt. Three times a herald called his name, and each time another denied it to the traitor. A priest recited over him the vigils of the dead, and the one hundred and ninth psalm : the herald threw a basin of warm water on his head, to undo the accolade of knighthood. Finally, he was placed on a hurdle, and being so drawn to the church, the vigils were again recited over him, as one now no more in existence.

The character of knighthood being generosity ^{Effects.} as well as courage, it both mitigated the ferocity of combatants, and inspired the victor with sentiments of humanity and kindness to the vanquished. In this view it may be considered as one of the causes of the civilisation of Europe. It contributed to order, by establishing rules of subordination and precedence ; and it introduced more respect and courteousness into the ordinary intercourses of society ¹⁷.

But

¹⁷ The following authors may be consulted on Chivalry : Ducange, ad voc. *Eques, Fratres conjurati* ; Duchesne's Dissert. on Chiv. ; Le Père Menestrier ; Pasquier, Recherches ;

But it was too much devoted to support the measures of the church : its independent spirit often interfered with the plans of government ; and it averted the attention of youth altogether almost from a literary education, and from arts and manufactures.

Several attempts were made in latter times to reform and improve it. Now it is scarcely known, but in a few vestiges of ancient customs, and in the admirable satire of Cervantes.

Decline of
the feudal
system.

1st Cause.
Chivalry.

THE decline of the feudal system produced considerable changes on the ranks of men : and one of the causes which contributed not a little to its decline, was the spirit and prevalence of chivalry. A simple baron might have more nominal and extensive jurisdiction and authority over his vassals ; but he often wanted the military disposition, and declined to summon them to arms : or they were averse from war, and devised various excuses of absence. The use of arms, on the other hand, was the profession of a knight : his duty conspired with his ambition to signalise himself : and the military youth, who were attached to him, were, like him, impatient for opportunities of displaying

cherches ; Favin and Colombiere's Theatre of Honour ; and Jean le Laboureur : but especially the Memoirs of M. de la Curne de la St^e Palaye.

their

their skill and valour. They were always ready in arms, panting for the summons of a superior to lead them to encounter the enemy. The novelty of their order, their romantic courage, their generous disposition to relieve the oppressed of any description, to protect the church, and to support the state, rendered them long universally popular, and gave them a decided preference to the undisciplined and often unwarlike vassals of a feudal chieftain ¹⁸.

The divisions and forfeitures of fiefs contributed also to the decline of the feudal system. By an ordonance of Philip Augustus, each proprietor in succession of a fief divided among several heirs, was bound to perform all the duties of vassalage for the whole fief as before it was divided. Any of them, however, might do homage, &c. for all the rest ¹⁹. Such divisions themselves gradually diminished the influence of the great fiefs; and it must have continued to decrease, in consequence of the disputes and contentions arising from the unwillingness of some of the parties to perform the feudal duties for the rest; or from the impatience and anxiety of the latter, lest they should suffer by the neglect of the former.

The tyranny and extortion of superiors contributed to its decline. Their wants, their am-

¹⁸ Rigord de Gestis Philip. Aug. p. 183. edit. Francof. 1556

¹⁹ D'Achery, tom. iii. p. 570. edit. Paris. 1723.

bition,

bition; or their avarice, urged them sometimes to exact from their vassals more than was due, or than they were able to pay. Any failure of duty was understood to infer an escheat or forfeiture. The one enforced his claim by arms; the other resisted, and defended himself. Family relations and personal friends were naturally involved in the feud. They exhausted each other's strength: the weak fell with his property into the hands of the strong; or, having appealed to the lord paramount, they were probably all of them subdued by him, and some of them annihilated²⁰.

There were other circumstances, indeed, which counteracted these causes, and rendered their operation gradual and slow. The fiefs *dominants* were not always able to enforce their claims, and did not attempt it. Sometimes the fiefs *servants* tamely and quietly suffered the encroachments of their superiors, rather than hazard all to save a part. The support and protection derived from prudent alliances placed all more on a level, than appears from a first and slight view of the vast difference in the extent of fiefs. Jealousy and interest contributed in the feudal system then, as in the policy of Europe now, to maintain a general balance of power. In those times too, when artillery was unknown, the strong castles even of the smaller barons could often bid defiance a long time to a considerable army: and an army composed of vassals un-

²⁰ Rigord; p. 207.

disciplined,

disciplined, reluctant, and bound to serve a few weeks only, melted fast away at a siege, in which there were no exploits to excite their enthusiasm, nor plunder to gratify their avarice.

Meantime the smaller allodial proprietors, and others, rejecting their immediate superiors, became royal vassals, some from discontent, some by appeal, and some for that protection which they hoped to enjoy more securely under the throne; while the very haughtiness of the greater nobles diminished their influence. The feudal system required that every one should be tried by his peers: all the king's vassals, however unequal in property, were, in his official estimation, of equal rank; and he might summon any of them to be his assessors. It often happened that he preferred the smaller proprietors; and that, when he summoned the greater, they, from pride and other circumstances of unaccommodating grandeur, excused themselves from attendance. Their absence was the more readily excused, as it tended so much to increase the royal power. By two ordinary knights, Lewis VIII. adjourned the trial of the countess of Flanders, which might have been impracticable in a diet attended by a great number of potent barons.

3d cause.
Haughtiness of the nobles, and their absence from court.

When the nobles did obey the royal summons, and give attendance at court, they converted their meetings into occasions of cabal and conspiracy against the government: their neglect, on the other hand, not only prevented these temptations to rebellion, but relieved the

government from numerous obstructions to its administration.

4th cause.
Superior
power of
the Capetians.

The superior property and political influence of the Capetian race contributed much to the decline of the feudal system. The hereditary offices and estates of Hugh Capet, as count of Paris, and duke of France, &c. raised him far above the great body of the nobles. He was able to repress the turbulent, to overawe the ambitious; and to give protection to those who confided in him, and to all who were the friends of good order and peace. His successors, and especially Philip Augustus, extended the domains, and increased still more the influence of the crown.

5th cause.
The crusades.

The crusades impoverished many of the most powerful and wealthy nobles. Some of them sold their fiefs; some mortgaged them; and all who engaged personally in the expedition were long absent from their castles and territory: the season, which was favourable, was not neglected for strengthening the government. The habits of those who returned were changed—warlike ardor was converted into the love of ease, and fierce and turbulent passions subsided into the desire of social intercourse and peace.

6th cause.
The truce
of God.

The truce of God, as it was called, also contributed to the decline of the feudal system. It was a recommendation and injunction of the church, with the concurrence of the great body of the nobles, who were sensible of the disorder and

and misery of the times, to suspend all warlike contests and arms, whether betwixt barons or princes, from Wednesday evening till Monday every week, and during the whole season of Advent, or four weeks before Christmas every year, to which other periods were afterwards added ²¹.

The very intermission of resentment and wrath represses it; the frequent interruption of war conduces to peace. Exceptions there were to the general rule, which were reprehended by the ecclesiastical councils; but, on the whole, the measure tended much to the establishment of regular government, and to the diminution of feudal power.

The English wars were also favourable for promoting the same end. Philip's successes against Richard I. and his successor, John Lackland, encouraged his own barons to join and support him in his schemes of ambition and aggrandisement. After the English were driven out of France, the power of the crown became so great, as to command effectually the submission and obedience of all the estates of the kingdom.

Finally, the introduction of hired guards of foreign troops, of a standing army, diminished the influence of the feudal system, as it increased the power and confirmed the stability of the throne.

²¹ Acta Concilior. tom. vi. part 1. p. 1034. 1042; part 2. p. 1744.

State of the
king.

The state of the king was now very different from what it had been before the accession of the third race. The last of the Carolingians had no territory but that of Laon; no political influence more than any ordinary baron; and no personal energy calculated to excite either respect or sympathy.

To the domains and offices held by Hugh Capet at his accession, were added by his successors the Gatinois, a gift from Foulk, count of Anjou, to Philip I.; the viscounty of Bourges, purchased from Arpin; the county of Vermandois, re-annexed on the death of Elizabeth, countess of Flanders; and the numerous and great conquests from the English by Philip Augustus, in Normandy, Guienne, and Flanders.

His minis-
ters.

Wise, active, and powerful kings found it not very long difficult to render their nobles and clergy accommodating and submissive. The ministers of the king, whose names were usually signed to public papers, were, the steward (*dapifer*), the butler, the chamberlain, the constable, and the chancellor²².

Admini-
stration in
the absence
of Philip
Augustus.

The following ordonance of Philip Augustus, constituting his mother queen Adela, and his uncle William, archbishop of Rheims, regents of the kingdom during his expedition to the Holy Land, affords considerable information concerning the internal state and administration

²² Dachery Spicileg. tom. iii. p. 554 & 596.

of the kingdom²². After a very short introduction, it ordains :

That within the royal domains, the bailiffs should appoint four prudent men of good character in the several districts, by whom, or their quorum of two, the affairs of the city or district should be administered ; excepting in the city of Paris, in which the king had already nominated six men of that description.

That the bailiffs themselves, in each of their bailiwicks, should once every month hold an assize, or court of justice, and duly record their judgments and transactions.

That the regents also, every four months, should constitute a court of appeal and final judgment for the whole kingdom ; which court every bailiff of the kingdom should attend, and report their transactions in the subordinate courts, and their observations on the general state of the kingdom.

That the regents should record the malversations of the bailiffs, and report them, by epistle to the king, three times a year, during his absence ; along with the general representations, which they were also to send him, of the state of the kingdom : but they had no power to inflict any penalty on these bailiffs, till they obtained the royal direction and authority.

That on any episcopal church or abbey becoming vacant, the canons should ask leave of the regents, as they were wont to do of the king, to elect ; which leave, as usual, should be readily granted. The canons were to take care to

²² Rigord, p. 186.

chuse a respectable and useful pastor; and the regents were not to deliver the regalia to the bishop elect, until he should be duly consecrated.

That with respect to other inferior ecclesiastical benefices, the regent should advise with St., then friar, Bernard.

That during the king's absence, or, in case of his death, till his son Lewis VIII., then three years of age, should be capable of governing the kingdom, neither clergy nor laity should pay (*talliam, vel tollam*) their voluntary taxes²⁴.

That in case of war during his absence, or his son's minority, all ranks should assist with their persons and property, as they had done hitherto, at his own request, in defending the kingdom.

That no person should be apprehended or imprisoned, but for murder, rape, or treason; provided he found security to answer when duly called on.

That all taxes and imposts should be paid, three times a year in Paris, at the terms of Candlemas, Whitsunday, and feast of St. Remi (Michaelmas), to the aforesaid six bailiffs and deputy marshal or provost²⁵.

That if any of these should die, William de Garland, the king's seneschal, should supply the vacancy, by appointing another burghers.

That Adam, the king's clerk, should attend the receipt of the revenue, and keep an accurate record thereof. The money levied should be

²⁴ See the manner of assessing this tax, D'Achery Spicil. tom. iii. p. 663.

²⁵ Hugh Capet annexed the office of count of Paris to the crown. The viscount, or deputy marshal, was afterwards called the prévôt, or provost.

lodged in chests, of which each of the bailiffs should have a key; and they should transmit to the king whatever sum he might write for,

That in case of his death, one half of his treasure should be expended by the regents, together with the bishop of Paris, and the abbot and friars of St. Victor, &c. on the reparation of churches injured by the late wars, and in other pious and charitable uses; and the other half should be reserved for the use of the young prince, his son, who, when of age, was to govern the kingdom.

This deed was subscribed by count Tibald the king's steward, Guido his butler, Antheus his chamberlain, and Radulph his constable, the office of sub-chancellor being vacant, A.D. 1190. The marshal was not yet at the head of the army of France, till the campaign of A. D. 1214, when Lewis VIII. defeated the king of England in Poitou. Henry Clement was then marshal. His son, though an infant, succeeded him in that office; but, to prevent its becoming hereditary, a declaration was required, that this was not to be accounted a precedent.

The state of the seneschal, or chancellorship, suggested this precaution. This office had been long in the family of Foulk, count of Anjou. Lewis VI. having conferred it on the family of Garland, the count was offended, and refused to do homage as the vassal of the king. Rather than attempt compulsion by arms, the king consented to a conference; in which the following terms were accepted:

T 4

That

That the office of mayor, *ferreschal*, or chancellor, belongs by hereditary right to the count of Anjou.

That it shall, however, be held and executed by William de Garland, then actually in possession of it; and, as holding said office under the count, the former shall be the vassal and deputy of the latter, and shall do homage to him. To William succeeded Stephen, then Radulph, count of Brome, who in like manner performed homage and service to the count of Anjou. The nature of this homage and service illustrates the pomp and precision of those times.

That when the count of Anjou shall attend the king's court, or coronation, the sub-chancellor shall command the mareschal to provide him with lodging and entertainment: that the sub-chancellor shall conduct him to his lodging; shall notify his arrival to the king; and shall introduce him into the royal presence, and again attend him home.

That on the day of the coronation, de Garland, the chancellor, shall place a seat for the count, near the table intended for the king, until the dinner shall be served; then, on the appearance of the first dish, the count shall rise from that seat, and, receiving the dish from the chancellor, shall place it before the king and queen; he shall then sit down, and merely superintend the chancellor, till the second dish or course appear, when he shall repeat the former service.

That after the whole ceremony shall be ended, the count having mounted his horse, shall be again conducted by the chancellor to his lodging.

That

That the horse on which he rode shall be given to the king's cook, and his robe to the steward; for which he shall receive from them a small acknowledgment in bread, flesh, and wine, to be distributed by his chief servant among the lepers.

That in like manner, when the count shall attend the king's army, the chancellor shall conduct him both thither and on his return; and shall provide for him a tent, capable of containing a hundred soldiers, with every thing necessary for transporting it. He may return it to the chancellor at the end of the war; but, though he should not, the chancellor must provide him another at the commencement of a new campaign²⁶.

The chancellor was thus still the principal officer of the crown, as under the Carlovingians; but now discharged also the duties of count of the palace. A considerable alteration also had taken place in the legislative and judicative administration.

General assemblies were still continued; but they were more select, and consisted rather of ecclesiastical than civil members. By convening them in a particular district, the king secured the attendance of his friends only; or the clergy, their partisans.

²⁶ "Ego Hugo de Cleris vidi hæc servitia reddere. comiti Fulconi," &c. Apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 329.

On particular occasions, however, as when the truce of God was framed and confirmed in the council of Narbonne, A. D. 1054, more of the nobles attended.

SECT. II.

Of Laws.

Neglect of
civil laws.

THE customs which the ancient laws, and the more recent capitularies, had impressed deeply on the minds and manners of the people, remained in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; but the laws themselves were neglected and forgotten. The clergy only were at all acquainted with them; and it seemed their interest and aim to bury them in oblivion, in order the more successfully to promote the universal authority and prevalence of the canon law.

The last of the capitularies was published by Charles the Simple A. D. 921; from which period, for about two hundred years, no legislative assembly was held, nor any law enacted, but ecclesiastical canons: even the ordinances of Philip Augustus seem generally to have been intended as rules only for his own domains.

Prevalence
of canon
law.

The following canons, collected from the general mass of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, being more of a civil and criminal than an ecclesiastical

siaſtical nature, merit our attention. They ſupply ſomewhat the total defect of regular civil legiſlation; they ſhew the officious interference and grasping ambition of the church, and mark ſome of the moſt prominent features and general rudeneſs of the times.

I. Of PERSONS.

THE diſorders of the country rendering it un-^{Protection.} ſafe to travel from one place to another, it was ordained in the council of Rheims A. D. 1131, that all perſons, not only clerical but merchants and huſbandmen, with their ſheep and cattle, ſhould be univerſally protected.

The ſacred truce ſo often occurring in the ſy-^{Sacred truce.} nodical canons, it has been already obſerved, prohibited, under the ſevereſt eccleſiaſtical cenſures, not only the uſe of arms in private wars, but among all perſons, from Wednesday to Monday every week from Advent to Epiphany, and from Quinquageſima to Pentecoſt. The ſacred nature of theſe times, the end of the week, and about Chriſtmas and Eaſter, was the oſtenſible reaſon; but the deſign was political, and was on the whole effectual in interrupting and diminiſhing the violence and diſorder of the times.

For the ſame reaſon, tilts and tournaments ^{Tilts and tournaments.} commencing as amuſements, but frequently end-

* Act. Concilior. Rheims A. D. 1131.

ing in serious hostilities, and always attended with danger, were strictly prohibited².

Forbidden
degrees of
kindred,

By the extension of the degrees of kindred beyond the ordinary civil relations which men easily reckon and remember, the power of marriage and divorce fell almost entirely into the hands of the church. Few people of the same district, in which intermarriages ramify in every direction, could readily ascertain the degree of their distant kindred; nor did they generally think it necessary before marriage to consult their parish registers, or to apply for special licence or dispensation. It was the duty of the churchman to examine carefully the degree of kindred before he celebrated the marriage; for, if he knew that it was within the forbidden degrees, and yet celebrated it, he was liable to be deposed³.

The different modes of reckoning civil and ecclesiastical degrees of kindred, rendered it still more confused and difficult to ascertain the forbidden degrees. Two civil made but one canonical degree of relation. For example, by the civil law, two brothers are in the second degree; but, by the canon law, they are in the first: by the former, sons of brothers, cousins german, are in the fourth; but, by the latter, they are in the second; by the one, second cousins are in the third; but, by the other, they are in the sixth; and so forth, to the seventh canonical de-

² Aët. Concilior. Rheims A. D. 1131.
³ Ibid. Rotomag. A. D. 1072.

gree, which few were able to reckon and ascertain *.

Farther, as these degrees were not uniformly interpreted by the canonists, or lawyers of those times, it became easy for those who were so inclined, to discover that they were married within the degrees; or, though it were not so, to obtain credit as if it were, and on that account to procure a divorce: or, again, if the clergy, from resentment, avarice, or some political motive, chose, they had it in their power too often to disturb a happy attachment and family union. They could insist on separation; or inflict a censure of excommunication, on account of alleged kindred between the parties before marriage.

The reason for attending to the Roman or civil law in reckoning degrees, was, that it generally regulated the order of succession to heritage.

The civil and canon law agreed in the direct line, from father to son, grandson, &c.; but not in the collateral, that is, to nephews, cousins, &c.

II. Of THINGS.

A CONSIDERABLE change began to take place with respect to the right of succession to hereditary property. Under the Merovingian and Car-

Mode of
hereditary
succession.

* *Alexis Papæ Epist. in Aët. Concil. Harduini. tom. vi. part. 1. p. 1104. Institutions au Droit François, tom. i. c. 29. & la Table, p. 1.*

lovingian

lovingian kings, fiefs, and other property, even kingdoms, were divided equally among children, and, failing them, among other heirs of the same propinquity. The great inconveniences attending this mode of succession with respect to the crown, had suggested and established the right of the eldest son to inherit his father's dominions, before the end of the Carlovingian race. Besides the natural disposition of men to imitate their superiors, the same inconveniences must have occurred, in succession to fiefs. The desire is natural to convey entire, as far as can be done, an old family estate, from generation to generation; it transmits the name and blood unaltered to many future ages; it is attended with political, as well as private, advantages; it contributes not more dignity to a family, than stability to a kingdom; it prevents the too frequent changes of property, which render opinions and customs too fluctuating; it secures a permanent rank and wealth to the aristocracy, which enables it, as the bones of the system, to support more firmly and durably the whole political body. The custom is nearly as old as the world, and, excepting the ruder tribes, almost as extensive as the habitations of men on the earth. Geoffrey, duke of Bretagne, rendered himself famous by first setting the example, A. D. 1185, of limiting the right of succession within his principality to the eldest sons of barons. His example was soon generally imitated over the kingdom; yet with considerable varieties. Some restricted the right to males only; and others, failing males, to females. Some confined it to fiefs,

siefs, and others extended it to other property⁵.

In times of violence and disorder, reluctant payments, and acts of injustice and dishonesty, might be frequently expected. It shewed both the want of civil authority, and the intermeddling spirit of the church, when she descended to the regulation of mercantile transactions. She ordained that debtors and cautioners, who should refuse or dispute a just and reasonable debt, should be excommunicated till the debt were paid⁶.

As law-suits often commenced without any farther process being held for years, keeping the defender in a state of suspense without remedy or end, it was ordained, "that, after the commencement of a litigation, if no steps were taken to forward it for three years, it should then be considered as fallen from, and extinct⁷."

The same council authorised the excambion, or exchange, of lands by the bishop, with the consent of both parties, provided the lands of both were within his diocese.

It was the common practice of the lords of particular districts, to demand tolls and customs

⁵ Rigord. 177. Gulielm. Neubrig. lib. 3. 7. Iustit. au Droit François, tom. i. c. 25.

⁶ A&C. Concil. tom. vi. l. 1190.

⁷ A&C. Concil. A. D. 1114. tom. vi. II. 1926.

from

from merchants especially passing their confines, or along bridges within their territories, and to enforce the demand with violence. The council of Avignon A. D. 1209 prohibited all such exactions, on pain of excommunication, unless where it could be shewn that it was done with the consent and authority of the king, or by immemorial custom.

Wills.

Wills being liable to be forged, or written unfairly for, and even in the presence of, those who could not write, it was ordained by the council of Thoulouse A. D. 1129, and of Narbonne A. D. 1227, that they should be done in presence of a presbyter or priest, and attested by him, and other habile witnesses. In the canon of the latter council especially, a more avaricious reason is assigned for this superintendence of the churchman; that he may take special care of those sums, or other property, which might be bequeathed for pious uses. He who should make a will without this clerical attestation, was to be denied Christian burial; and the notary who wrote it was to be interdicted till he gave satisfaction.

False witnesses.

The same council ordained, that false witnesses, and perjured persons, should be denounced publicly in the church: and, if still impenitent, should every Sabbath, and on other holidays, be most solemnly excommunicated, and declared infamous, and incapable of making a testament, or of performing any other public deed.

By a canon of the council of Paris, A. D. 1109, ^{Clergy} the bishops and clergy, who refused to swear ^{exempted} themselves as witnesses in a cause, were allowed ^{from being} to substitute their slaves to swear for them. ^{jurors.}

III. Of Actions.

THE stealing of cattle, sheep, goats, deer, or ^{Theft.} swine, was declared accursed *.

The usurpation of an inheritance, or any pro- ^{Usurpation.} perty belonging to another, was declared to exclude the usurper from the privilege of penitence *.

A person guilty of manslaughter was only sub- ^{Manslaugh-} jected to penance ^{ter.} ¹⁰.

A plunderer of shipwrecks was to be excom- ^{Shipwreck} muni- ^{plundering.} cated ¹¹.

An incendiary was liable to the same censure, ^{Incendiary.} if living; and was to be denied Christian burial, if dead.

This was the legislation, and these were the laws of the times. The Barbarian and Theodosian codes, so well known and respected in former ages, were now buried under the load of church canons and feudal institutions.

* "Anathema sit." A. C. Concil. A. D. 989.

⁹ A. C. Concil. Claramont. A. D. 1095.

¹⁰ A. C. Concil. A. D. 1114. ¹¹ Ibid.

Roman law,

In the twelfth century, however, the Roman law revived, and became more extensively known and venerated than almost ever before. The code published by the emperor Justinian A. D. 529 or 530, had fallen into such total neglect, as if it had been absolutely lost. In fact, the clergy, who were the only lawyers and learned men of those dark ages, became generally unacquainted with the Greek language, in which the Justinian code was written, preferred their own canons, and designedly studied to supersede every other system of law.

About the year A. D. 1127, however, a German, of the name of Irnier, or Warnier, a teacher of languages, &c. at Ravenna, in a dispute concerning the precise meaning of the word *As*, consulted the Roman law in the Justinian code. In doing this, his attention was seized with the general subject of law, contained in that work. He studied it, went to Bologna, and publicly taught it¹². Ten years afterwards, in the plunder of Amalfi in Apulia by the troops of the emperor and the pope, they found a copy of the Pandects, which also excited attention; and increased the public zeal for the study of the Roman law.

introduced
into France;

This zeal soon extended itself into France, where schools were instituted for teaching the Roman law at Montpellier and Thoulpuse, a country of which it might be said to have been a native, and

¹² Hist. du Droit François, tom. i. p. 63, 64. edit. à Par. 1699.

which

which again readily conformed to it; for the people retained the customs, though they were ignorant of the written laws which had impressed them.

The pope Honorius III. prevented the introduction of this code into Paris. "In France," said he, in the decree of prohibition, "laymen make no use of the Roman law; and few ecclesiastical causes occur, which may not be decided by canon law: wherefore, that men may occupy themselves more with the study of the Holy Scriptures, the pope prohibits the teaching and study of the civil law at Paris, and other places adjacent, on pain of losing the rights of an advocate or law-agent, and of being excommunicated¹¹." From this decree it appears, that the north of France lived under other customs than those derived from the Roman law; that laymen regulated themselves, while churchmen were governed by the canon law; that the church, however, did consult the Roman, or civil law, in cases to which no canon was applicable. The Roman law gradually mixed universally over the kingdom with the established customs and feudal system, and finally constituted with them the legal code of France.

¹¹ Hist. du Droit François, tom. i. p. 66, 67.

SECT. III.

Of Courts of Justice.

Feudal
courts.

THE courts, the royal circuit judges (*missi domini*), and other institutions of Charlemagne, had generally ceased. Every baron was now the judge within his own barony; and when not under the power of caprice, which regards no rule, he was usually guided in his decisions by the customs of the province, as far as they were known: for sometimes they were inaccurately remembered, and contradictorily stated; by the consuetude of Roman and Gothic law in the south and west counties; of the Salic, Riparian, and Burgundian, in the north and east; and with some impression of the capitularies over all. The barons, however, were negligent of the administration of justice; the clergy, on the other hand, were ambitious to bring the whole country under subjection to their authority. Men naturally resorted to the ecclesiastical courts, where they were most readily regarded, and where they most successfully obtained redress. These were the most regular and judicious, mild and authoritative: the ecclesiastical judges acted on something like principles; they were solicitous to please, and to become extensively popular; and their rules of judgment in ordinary cases were known and respected.

Ecclesiasti-
cal courts.

The

The common people, that is, slaves, peasants, and artificers, were subject to the jurisdiction, and were tried in the courts, of their immediate lords. These lords were either the proprietors of the lands, or as dukes, counts, viscounts, &c. they retained the superiority and jurisdiction, after they disowned the authority from which they had derived it. They substituted deputies in their room; and these again appointed their bailiffs, to preside in courts of barony, of which Bailiffs. there were sometimes several in one parish.

As the barons, small as well as great, imitated the state of the king, so they gave their feignorial and even domestic servants the names of those of the royal household. They had their seneschal, or chancellor; their steward, or intendant; their bailiffs, serjeants, and valets.

In every court, besides the judge himself, there were assessors, who were the vassals of the baron, and the peers or equals of the persons subject to his jurisdiction. On set-days the vassals were summoned to court, which indeed they generally neglected to attend. Their neglect left the jurisdiction entirely to the arbitrary will of the seignor, or his bailiffs.

When two powerful barons contended, who neither could submit the one to the other's jurisdiction, nor chose to acknowledge the superiority of the king, of whom they were often extremely jealous, they preferred the decision of arbiters^{*}.

^{*} Epist. Fulbert. & Ivot. Hist. du Droit François, tom. i. p. 49.

When the decisions, neither of ordinary courts nor of arbiters, were effectual, recourse was had to single combat, personally, or by substitute.

New courts arose with the rise of cities, suited to the state of the citizens; municipal judges presided in them, and conducted their general administration; but they were entitled to appeal to the king's court, or that of their immediate superior, whose protection they claimed, and to whom they were bound to pay an annual tax or acknowledgment.

The English introduced some change in the courts of their jurisdiction. Jealousy led them to encourage different customs, in order to render the re-union of districts and counties more difficult.

Municipal
courts.

We have already stated the substance of the ordinance of Philip Augustus, constituting the regents, and other officers of administration, during his absence in the crusade. They were authorised to nominate bailiffs in every city; which bailiffs were empowered to hold a court of record; and from their judgment an appeal was competent to the regents, or royal court, once every month.

Till about the end of the eleventh century, courts of justice in France do not appear to have recorded their decisions². In the end of the twelfth century, the records of the king's court

² Hist. du Droit François, tom. i. p. 80.

were

were lost; and were supplied, as well as could be done, from memory, and accidental copies³.

The oldest records in France are:

I. Charters of cities; as of Beauvais, A. D. ^{Oldest French records.} 1144; of Abbeville, A. D. 1184; of Bourdeaux, A. D. 1187; of Beaume, A. D. 1203; and of Rouen, A. D. 1207⁴.

II. Ancient customs: as those of Champagne, published by Pithou; those of Burgundy, in the collection of Peyrat; and of the Chatelet, published by Brodeau, &c.

III. The treatises of some eminent practitioners soon after this period; that is, before the end of the thirteenth century; as of Pierre de Fontaine, Philip de Beaumanoir, &c.⁵

³ Rigord, p. 195.

⁴ Hist. du Droit François, tom. i. p. 82, 83.

⁵ Ibid. p. 85.

SECT. IV.

Of the Public Revenue.

UNDER the former race of kings, the public revenue arose from the royal domain; from certain tolls exacted at bridges and markets; and from the heriban, or leave of absence granted from the army.

Revenue
from more
extensive
domains;

The kings of the third race enjoyed not only more extensive domains than their predecessors, but they were more active, liberal, and powerful. The people confided more in them, and resorted to them for protection. They had the discernment, on the other hand, to see it to be their interest to regard and accommodate the people. In gratifying them, they detached them from the scale of the aristocracy, and threw their weight on the side of royalty. They also received large sums of money for the municipal immunities conferred on them.

from grants
of immuni-
ties.

Lewis VI. the Gross, obtained sixty sols for every ship's burden of wine exported from, or imported into, Paris.

Lewis VII. granted the Place de Greve to the burgeses in Paris for seventy livres,

Philip Augustus conferred various privileges on the merchants; for which, though it is not expressly

expressly mentioned, he received a considerable revenue¹.

The royal domains were now also managed with more œconomy. Their produce of lands, rivers, and forests; quit-rents, and other acknowledgments of feignory; the duties of import and export; were farmed by bailiffs, accountable at a certain rate to the king, or his steward. Other sources of revenue were; the regale, that is, the produce of ecclesiastical benefices during their vacancy, whether as a patronal, feudal, or royal acknowledgment; the coinage of money; the droit de gîte, or commutation of the privilege of lodging at the house of a vassal; the oppressive taxes on Jews; and the feudal customs of relief, wardship, &c.

Philip Augustus, A. D. 1188, imposed a tenth penny on the clergy, called Saladin's Tithe; because it was enacted on account of the crusade against that famous Sultan².

¹ Recueil des Chartes, &c. Felibien, tom. i. p. 95—99.

² Rigord, p. 182.

SECT. V.

*Of Military and Naval Affairs.*PART I. *Of Military Affairs.*

Number of
troops.

AFTER the Capetian race had been fully established on the throne, the military force of the kingdom was greatly increased. When the emperor Henry V. threatened France with invasion, Lewis VI. according to the account of the abbé Suger, who witnessed the fact, assembled an army of two hundred thousand men, without including the quotas of troops expected from the great military provinces of Bretany, Guienne, and Anjou.

Mode of
subsistence,
and time of
service.

They were levied, armed, and furnished with provisions, according to the feudal customs. The design of raising them, and the duration of their service, as for three or six months, were usually specified. The provisions which they carried with them were so small, as to render plunder necessary for their subsistence. If restrained, they soon left the army; hence campaigns were either short, or the country suffered extremely by plunder: it was often equally dangerous to engage, and to avoid an engagement; defeat might be the consequence of the one, general

neral pillage of the other. In critical circumstances, it was safer to fight a superior force; the whole of a great army could seldom or never come into action. In the battle of Bovines, Philip Augustus, with an army of fifty thousand men, obtained a complete victory over the army of the emperor Otho, consisting of one hundred and fifty thousand men.

The indolence of Philip I. the disorders of his reign, and the reluctance with which baronies as well as cities raised and assembled their quotas of troops, suggested the necessity of some change and improvement on that subject. Lewis VI. having deliberated with the clergy and others, it was resolved, with their advice and concurrence, that instead of raising the troops, in cities especially, by means of the bailiffs, it should be done by the bishops; not by feignories, but more equally by parishes; and that the troops so raised should be accompanied by their parochial curates, ostensibly for religious purposes, but in fact for maintaining discipline and order. This added greatly to both the number and energy of the military force of the kingdom, and rendered the crown much more independent of the nobles. It was this probably which secured to Philip the victory at the battle of Bovines¹.

The serjeants at arms, the first guards of the kings of France, distinguished themselves in this battle. They were all gentlemen, raised in consequence of the alarm, real or pretended, which

¹ Rigord, 219. P. Daniel, tom. ii. p. 481.

Philip received, from a report that the king of the Assassins (*Arfacida*) had determined to put him to death. They were armed with clubs of brass, and attended the king in companies alternately, night and day².

Hired
troops.

But the troops of Brabançons, of Ribauds, and Cottreaux, &c. which Philip hired in imitation of the king of England, was a still greater innovation. It was the origin of a standing army, and forms an important military and political æra in France and in Europe. It converted, in the mean time, the public plunderers, robbers, and banditti of the country, into its defenders, securing more order and peace to the kingdom, and more stability to the throne.

The hired corps, which Philip employed in the siege of Chateau Gaillard, cost him a thousand livres a day³.

Cavalry.

Cavalry were now common and numerous in the army; they consisted chiefly of the nobles and gentlemen, and their retinues: they were covered wholly with armour, with the cuirass, breast-plate, vizor, and helmet. They were known by emblems, which they wore to distinguish them, their armour rendering them, without these, alike and undistinguishable. Hence the origin of coats of arms, or of the devices of heraldry. Their offensive arms were, the sword, the club, and the lance, or spear.

² Rigord, 193.

³ Gullierm. Brit. lib. 7.

The infantry were armed with bows, and ^{Infantry.} lighter swords and clubs than those used by the cavalry.

Standards of various devices, also giving origin to other achievements of heraldry, distinguished the companies or vassals of the respective chieftains. The oriflame was the national, ^{The oriflame.} sacred standard, and lodged during peace in the monastery of St. Denys; whence it was taken on great emergencies with much solemnity*.

Military instruments for sieges, besides bows ^{Sieges.} and cross-bows, were, the ballista, for throwing darts and stones with immense force; the battering ram, large moving towers, covered galleries, with levers of various size and construction.

Pallisades and plain strong walls were the principal kinds of fortification; ^{Fortification.} the walls, however, were frequently strengthened and defended by varied projections, curtains, and lofty towers*.

* Rigord, 186. Suger, 312.

† Guillerm. Brito, lib. 7.—This author wrote the History of the Life and Reign of Philip Augustus, in an hexameter Latin Poem of twelve books. It is minute and tedious, but accurate and faithful.

PART II. *Of Naval Affairs.*

WE have no account of a French fleet during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, till A.D. 1213, when Philip Augustus intended, it is said, with seventeen hundred ships, to invade England. They were surprised, however, in their own ports, by an English fleet of five hundred, which almost entirely destroyed them.

So many ships, suddenly built, collected, and manned, without fitness, experience, and previous training, could not be well qualified for either sailing or fighting. Numbers may, by land, supply defect of discipline; but can never, on sea, make up for want of skill and expertness⁶.

⁶ Rigord, 212.

CHAP. IV.

The History of Literature in France, from the
Accession of Hugh Capet, A. D. 987, to the
Death of St. Lewis, A. D. 1226.

WE begin to perceive the dawn of learning as we approach the thirteenth century. It was retarded, and the darkness of ignorance, as formerly stated, was increased, by the weakness of the Carlovingian kings, and the consequent disorders of the state; by the ravages and constant alarms spread over the kingdom by the Normans; by the ruin of churches and monasteries; the destruction of libraries and manuscripts; the general distraction of thought which insecurity occasions; and the uninteresting subjects which then occupied the learned.

We now cheerfully turn to contemplate the causes which contributed to the revival of learning in France.

Causes contributing to the revival of learning.

I. The increased influence of the crown, and the greater stability of the government.—We cannot always trace the connection between government and learning; the concussions, and even revolutions of a state, may lead to greater and more general exertions of genius, provided that they neither be of very long duration, nor threaten much the lot and lives of quiet individuals. But it is rather the calm after the storm,

I. Increased influence of the crown.

in

in which we more frequently observe the rays of genius piercing the dark cloud, and again cheering and enlivening society.

II. Great
and inter-
esting
events.

II. The period from Hugh Capet to St. Lewis abounded in events which were calculated to rouse the ingenious mind, which had been appalled by former and constant alarms. The change of the dynasty by Hugh Capet, the conquest of England by William duke of Normandy, were great, without being terrible; the boldness and magnitude of the enterprises, and the success which attended them, gave freedom and courage to the imagination, and to the spirit of inquiry. The minds of men were rendered more active, by the frequency of intercourse which immediately followed betwixt France and England. The flight of the pope from Italy, his journey through France, his visit at Paris, must have excited great attention, and led to various ecclesiastical and political, historical and religious inquiries. In a word, France, in the centre of Europe, felt every shock by which it was agitated, as well as its own internal commotions, to that degree which excites interest without terror; which rather agreeably changes and enlarges the trains of thought; and which relieves the spirit from the thralldom of superstition, and from the oppression of intolerant system.

III. The
crusades.

III. But, of all the events which agitated the minds of men and the affairs of Europe, the crusades were the most interesting and extraordinary: they did more for promoting literature than

than merely rouse the mind; they took off the pressure of ecclesiastical despotism, not only by the indulgence and liberty granted generally, on that occasion, by the church, but by the departure of many spiritual tyrants, whose absence gave a relaxation of spirit before unknown. They produced a great intercourse among men, during the preparations which were made for the expedition. They led to important inquiries into the nature and state of the countries through which they were to march, as well as of those in which they were to engage in warfare. They were the occasion of general and frequent correspondence betwixt Europe and Asia; and they gave a turn for observation and comparison. These excitements and communications led on to more extensive discussions and investigations. Journals, memoirs, particular and more general histories, were written; geography especially was cultivated. The clergy of the eastern and western churches, who had only heard of each other, by means of controversies, and through the medium of prejudice, embraced one another, conversed together, and communicated their knowledge, their manuscripts, and other means of learning and improvement.

IV. The sects which sprung from, or opposed themselves to the church of Rome, contributed much to the revival of learning. Some of them were emigrants from other countries, and taught their disciples to break the fetters of superstition, and of local customs; to change their habits of thinking; to cherish the love of novelty, and that fortitude which is necessary to follow and

IV. The
sects of
Albigensis,
&c.

maintain singularity of opinion. The spirit of innovation spread with rapidity; old systems and institutions soon appeared absurd and ridiculous; the imagination was inflamed, and the mind became zealous and active to propagate its new principles. Genius, invention, writings light and serious, romantic and satirical, were employed to vilify and overthrow the ancient fabric of the church of Rome. They provoked persecution; but their sufferings excited sympathy and interest. The copies of the Troubadour writings, which were publicly burnt, rendered those which remained more precious, and curiously sought after; they were read with avidity. The age acquired a turn both for writing and reading: the increase of books was proportioned to the demand.

Such was the conduct and the consequences of the new sects, which, in the twelfth century, appeared in the south of France especially, under the general name of the Albigenses^a.

V. The
Romans'
tongue.

V. The use of the Romans' language, which now began to be commonly employed in writings destined for the people, contributed much to the revival of literature. The Latin, to which writings and learning were hitherto confined in France, required more education than the common people were entitled to; or than even those of superior rank chose to acquire, or could conveniently obtain. But the difficulty is far from being

^a They were described particularly ch. 2, in the Ecclesiastical History of this Period.

so great, to learn the art of reading, and even of writing, our native language. The Romans' tongue was universally known over the kingdom; it was made the vehicle, therefore, of subjects universally interesting or amusing. Ballads, romances, memoirs, and discussions concerning the church, the crusades, feats of chivalry, tilts and tournaments, excited general attention, and created an ambition to learn the arts of reading and writing. Copies were industriously multiplied, and circulated; schools for acquiring the elements of education were thronged. Mountebanks, jongleurs, and comic actors, addressed on the subjects of the times the great mass of the people, who were incapable themselves of reading.

VI. The rise of cities contributed to learning. VI. The
 The ready intercourse which they afforded, and rise of cities.
 the free communication of sentiments which they encouraged, rendered the contagion of opinions rapid and general. The principles of imitation and emulation act with greatest force in small towns; for when they become very large, individuals are lost in the multitude, and no longer compare themselves with their immediate neighbours and fellow-citizens, with whom in great cities they are not acquainted. These in villages and smaller towns associate; every thing in their condition and conduct becomes a subject of comparison and converse. The method of education too is facilitated; many children can be assembled under one master; and teachers will always be found willing to open schools, in proportion to their encouragement.

By such means knowledge began to be generally diffused.

The learned languages were still confined to the monks and clergy, and were only taught in the episcopal and monastic schools.

Scholastics. The eminent philosophical and theological teachers of these schools were called Scholastics and Schoolmen; and from them the systems which they taught, and their mode of teaching them, were called the Scholastic Philosophy.

**Trivium
and Quadri-
vium.**

They included all learning in the seven liberal arts; of which grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, formed what they called Trivium; and arithmetic, music, geometry, and astronomy, formed Quadrivium.

In the knowledge of these subjects they made very little progress during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Civil law.

The introduction of the civil or Roman law (which has been already mentioned, chap. iii.) into the schools, formed a new branch of study.

**Metaphy-
sics.**

But the subject which excited most attention and zeal in the schools during this period, was metaphysics. For several ages past, the institutes, or dialectics, said to be Augustine's, though not his in reality, was the text book for philosophy. It was formed on the Platonic and Stoic principles of reasoning, and led into endless mysticism and subtlety. Essence, accidents, modes, rela-

tions,

tions, genus, species, were employed to illustrate the doctrines of Scripture, and to explain the mysteries of theology. To these were now added the logic of Aristotle, whose writings were introduced generally in the eleventh century into the schools. In the twelfth century he was celebrated as an infallible guide, not in real philosophy; for his works on nature and taste were not read, but in dialectics, or reasoning; and his principles and mode in this art were interwoven with all the subjects of theology. The more eminent theologians, indeed, the ablest defenders of the Roman church, were jealous of Aristotle's celebrity, and of the effects of his philosophy on their doctrines and institutions, and proceeded even to persecute the most zealous disciples of his school*. The current, however, was too strong against them; Aristotle triumphed; the mystics yielded to the scholastics. Though the education of the latter did not directly improve literature, it sharpened a subtle and disputatious genius, excited emulation, and rendered men ambitious both of acquiring more knowledge, and a more perfect mode of argument and reasoning.

From Pythagoras and Plato, Aristotle had received the doctrine of ideas, or universals. Plato believed them to be eternal, the proto-types of subsequent creations, beings, and things. His disciple Aristotle denied their eternity, but admitted that the idea of every species subsists in the individual composing it, and constituting its

Origin of
Nominalists
and Real-
ists.

* Rigord, p. 208.

essence. In a word, he considered the idea, or form of an object, with all its qualities, as a horse, an oak, &c. as an universal, or as belonging to all the individuals of the same species.

On this doctrine Rosceline, a clerk of the church of Compiègne, a man of a subtle, disputatious temper, in the end of the eleventh century, grafted the opinion, that there is nothing but words or names universal. We can apply the same name to the whole species, as it presents itself to us in the abstract idea; but, in every individual, there is a sensible difference, by which we distinguish it from others and which renders it incapable of universality. The famous Abelard ably and eloquently supported the same opinion, and so formed the sect of the Nominalists; that is, of those who affirmed that universality is applicable to the name of a species only, and not to the individual objects which compose it.

Their antagonists, Anselm³, and Ives of Chartres⁴, &c. who affirmed, that universality belongs

³ Anselm, abbot of Bec, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, born at Aosta on the Alps A. D. 1033, was a man of great talents. He supported the church against the state with perhaps too much of the zeal of a partisan, both in respect of the subsidy demanded by William, and of the right of investitures insisted on by Henry, kings of England. He was learned as well as able, and wrote much. It was in a treatise on the Trinity that he chiefly opposed the doctrine of Rosceline, and charged him with conclusions favouring Tritheism.

⁴ Ives, bishop of Chartres, was born at Beauvais about the year 1035. He was first appointed abbot of St. Quentin, and

longs not to the names of things, but to the things themselves, were called Realists.

A few learned men differed from both these opinions, and held, that universality consists in neither names nor their objects, but in our conceptions of them; hence they were called Conceptualists.

This controversy mingled itself with every subject of learning and theology into which it was capable of being introduced, and divided and distracted the schools for more than three centuries, till the edict of Lewis XI. was opposed to it; or rather till it was superseded by the far more interesting and important subjects of the general Reformation⁵.

From the account that we have given of this subject, which is seldom stated with clearness and precision, and which indeed it is not easy

and afterwards advanced to the episcopal see of Chartres. He met with considerable opposition to his induction into that see, not on his own account, but from the friends of Geoffrey, his predecessor, whom they were unwilling to hold deposed and absolutely deprived. Ives was a rigid disciplinarian, and a firm pillar of the church. This zeal and firmness made him deny Rosceline the countenance which he requested under his persecution.

⁵ On these subjects may be consulted, besides the original authors themselves, the different works (passim) which treat of the ecclesiastical and literary history of the period; as, Hist. Liter. de la France, tom. x, xi.; Fleury's Eccles. Hist. tom. xiii, xiv. passim; Mosheim, tom. ii, iii.; Enfield's Hist. of Philos.; and Dr. Reid's Essay on the Intellectual Powers.

always to follow and comprehend in the original authors, we may form a tolerable idea of the chief subjects of learning during this period. They were the most mystical and abstract points of theology and pneumatology.

Mode of
disputation.

Their mode of illustrating a subject, and conducting an argument, was no less abstract and unprofitable. They neither explained with precision the terms which they employed, nor examined accurately the axioms, or first principles, which they assumed. Their unclassical, often barbarous, and unperspicuous Latin, and style, added to the obscurity. Hence their premises were unfairly stated, and liable to be misunderstood. On both sides of the question there was abundant room for subtlety and evasion; and conclusions were drawn with a triumph, proportioned not to the truth of the case, but to the eloquence, the subtlety, and the confidence of the disputant.

When questions were publicly agitated, as frequently happened, the easiest, loudest, and boldest speaker was readily pronounced the wisest and most learned.

Such disputants as Rosceline, Abelard, &c. who seemed to deviate from the creed of the Romish church, were reproached and persecuted; but the champions of the church, Champeaux, Bernard, &c. were celebrated, and some of them honoured with the titles of profound, venerable, angelic, &c.

In

In arguing on theology, the schoolmen referred *In theology:* indeed to the Scriptures; but they quoted still more abundantly and confidently the writings of the fathers. They were not aware, that the opinions of the fathers vary on the same subjects; or, being keenly engaged in support of their argument, they did not regard it. They did not always consider the scope of the author whom they quoted, but employed detached passages, which were easily perverted. Some of the fathers were undoubtedly more esteemed than others; but it was always accounted more learned and successful, to collect much from them, than a little to much purpose.

In morals, they studied the compilation of *In morals:* pope Gregory, of Peter Lombard, master of the sentences, and similar collections of maxims from the fathers, on duty and virtue. These they arranged according to Aristotle's method, and even combined his ethics with the precepts of the gospel.

The means of education and learning were not only as numerous as the cathedrals and monasteries of France, to each of which a school or academy was annexed; but other schools were erected and maintained by particular persons and communities zealous to promote instruction: such was the school of St. Germain de l'Auxerrois; and such probably was originally the school which gradually rose to the dignity of the university of Paris.

At

At this period, however, in the middle of the twelfth century, Rigord represents the scholars at Paris as more numerous than they were ever known to be at any academy in Athens or Egypt. Separate colleges were gradually founded in it. "Not only the Trivium and Quadrivium," says Rigord, "were taught in it, but the canon and civil law, medicine, and theology." It is generally understood not to have received the name of university till the reign of Charles VI.; yet Rigord seems to give it that name in the twelfth century. Speaking of Amanry, who had appealed to the pope from a sentence condemning him, he says, that, on his return, "*compellitur ab universitate confiteri*." It appears rather an unusual phrase, to be simply translated: he was *by all*, or unanimously, compelled to acknowledge his error⁶.

The regulations of this university, for we will venture to dignify it with that name, were calculated to secure a regular education to the teachers both of the arts and of theology. They were not permitted to teach the former, till they obtained the degree of master; nor of the latter, till they obtained the degree of doctor. For the one they studied six years, and were full twenty-one years of age; for the other, they studied eight years, and were required to have reached their thirty-fifth year. In neither case was the degree conferred without a long and rigorous trial⁷.

⁶ Rigord, p. 208. Henault, vol. i. p. 170.

⁷ Fleury, 5^{me} Disc. sur l'Hist. Ecclef. tom. xvii. p. 2.

THE biography of eminent authors, I have judged it preferable, in this and the subsequent books, to incorporate as they occurred in the history; rather than to reserve them, as in the two preceding books, for a separate article. When they did not readily incorporate with the narration, I have placed some short account of them as notes at the bottom of the page,

and I am not sure that the
 results of the study will be
 as good as the results of the
 study of the other two groups.
 The results of the study of the
 other two groups are as follows:
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CHAP. V.

The History of the Arts in France from
A. D. 987 to A. D. 1226.

Agriculture.

THE improvement of the arts may be expected to bear always some proportion to the order and stability of the government. Some time after the establishment of the third race, the waste lands began to be cultivated; new farms were laid off; good houses were built; the rents paid were doubled; in many cases they were increased five-fold. This account, which the abbé Suger gives of the lands of the abbey of St. Denis, may be considered as an example of similar improvements over the kingdom.

In the north of France, the harvest began usually about the middle of July. In the march of Philip Augustus against the count of Flanders A. D. 1184, the fields were much trodden by his army in the month of June, while the corn was shooting into ears; yet it recovered against

* Sugerii Abbat. S. Dionys. Liber de Reb. in Administr. sua, apud Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 331.

teen acres of vineyard for forty livres (*libre*) of rent⁶.

Architecture.

Much building.

THE ravages of the Normans, the civil wars, both before and after the accession of the third race; and the general apprehension of the end of the world, which for a number of years occasioned a total neglect of building, required the greatest exertion, after these apprehensions and wars subsided, to supply the want, and repair the ruins of houses and churches. The number built during the eleventh and twelfth centuries was very great. The clergy were the principal architects; the bishops superintended the building of churches, and abbots of monasteries.

The clergy the principal architects.

Conrad bishop of Utrecht, about the middle of the eleventh century, obtained from an artist of Friesland the secret of building with safety on marshy ground.

Halinard, archbishop of Lyons, is understood to have been architect of the bridge built A. D. 1050 over the Saone⁷.

Lanfride, who built the tower of Ivry in Normandy, was celebrated above them all; but the qualities are not mentioned in which he peculiarly excelled⁸.

⁶ P. Felibien, Hist. de Paris, tom. i. p. 169, 170.

⁷ Hist. Liter. de la France.

⁸ "Cujus ingenii laus super omnes artifices qui tunc erant in Gallia." Orderic. Vitalis, lib. viii.

The church of St. Anian in Orleans was two hundred and forty feet in length, seventy-two in breadth, and sixty in height. It had one hundred and twenty-three windows, and nineteen altars, in honour of that number of saints. Some of the altars were adorned with the most precious gold. The church was so much enlightened from the roof, that, to use the words of the historian, you saw more of the heavens than the earth⁹.

The church of Nôtre Dame in Paris began to be rebuilt by bishop Maurice from the foundation early in the reign of Lewis VII. Pope Alexander III. laid the foundation-stone of it when he was a refugee in France. The great altar was finished A. D. 1182; but the whole building does not appear to have been completed till the year 1257. It is near four hundred feet long, one hundred and forty broad, and two hundred high. The choir and nave have double aisles, and a great number of chapels; over the arched roofs of the aisles are spacious galleries, also arched, round the whole church. It is enlightened by two rows of windows, three of which, in the centre of the west, south, and north fronts, are circular, and of a rose form. Immediately under the lower window of the west front, are twenty-eight figures of kings of France; larger than the life; representing the principal benefactors of that church, from Childebert I. to Philip Augustus, in whose reign that front seems to have been finished.

⁹ Helgaldi Vit. Roberti Regis, p. 73

Two grand towers rise on each corner of this front, corresponding to the sides of the nave, which add greatly to its magnificence and beauty. The largest of the bells in these towers weighs forty-four thousand pounds. Pyramids, obelisks, columns, figures, and ornaments of all kinds, adorn it, in great profusion ¹⁰.

The roofs of cathedral churches were then generally covered with lead.

The altars were more commonly enclosed with curtains; they were neither railed in, nor was there any ascent towards them by steps. They stood at some distance from any wall, so that you might walk round them. Till the tenth century, there were no crosses placed on the altars, nor wax candles, nor candlesticks ¹¹.

Sculpture.

Sculpture, and Mosaic work, which are the usual appendages of Architecture in its active and flourishing state, were cultivated in this age with great ardour ¹².

The smith's and carpenter's arts must always keep pace with those of agriculture and architecture; though nothing be recorded of them, it is necessarily implied.

¹⁰ Felibien, *Hist. de Paris*, tom. i. p. 200, 201. *Recueil Historique de la Vie, & des Ouvrages des plus célèbres Architectes*.

¹¹ *Dissertat. Ecclesiast. sur les principaux Autels, &c.* par J. Batisse Thiers.

¹² *Hist. Liter.* tom. xvii. p. 142.

Wherever

Wherever there were churches, monasteries, ^{Ornamental arts.} or large towns, there we generally find some cultivation of the ornamental arts. The rich ornaments of gold and silver, both plain and carved, with which they adorned the altars, sacred vessels, &c. gave great encouragement to goldsmiths, and the artists connected with them in that branch of manufacture.

King Robert employed Oderanne at Sens, to make an elegant shrine of gold and precious stones, for the relics of St. Savinian.

Otho embellished the mausoleum of William duke of Normandy in that province.

Suger must have employed many such artists in the ornaments and furniture of Nôtre Dame.

Orsmund of Rheims, Guinamond of Chaise-Dieu, and many others, are celebrated as ingenious and expert artists in casting, turning, polishing, and carving gold, silver, copper, and the other substances employed in the ornaments of public buildings, or of private luxury.

But we must not suppose that much taste and delicacy were displayed in these works. None of them, however, having reached the present times, we cannot judge of them; but it is probable, that they were massive, rather than handsome; rudely cut or strongly embossed, rather than lightly and elegantly carved¹³.

¹³ Orderic. Vital lib. 2. Hist. Liter. tom. vii. 141. 143. Duchesne, tom. iv p. 341—350.

Painting being one of the means of ornamenting churches, was much cultivated; they painted on glass. They painted large portraits, as well as in miniature; and they painted historical pieces, as the conquest of England by William duke of Normandy ¹⁴.

Tapestry was also cultivated, and wrought with considerable success ¹⁵.

Of Poetry.

Latin poetry in rhyme.

Latin poetry continued to be cultivated; but there is scarcely any specimen of it which deserves attention. It was frequently written in rhyme during this period, in which there was not only a correspondence in the last syllables of each line, but in the middle and last syllables of the same line ¹⁶.

The

¹⁴ Hist. Littéraire, tom. vii. p. 142.

¹⁵ Ibid. tom. ix. p. 222.

¹⁶ Pagan Boloten, canon of Chartres, who flourished in the beginning of the twelfth century, wrote satires against the new religious sects of those times. In the following verses, he considers the number, dress, and folly of these sects, as a sign of the approaching termination of the world:

“ Jam quia finis temporis instet, ne dubitemus,
Cum tot oriri religionum monstra videmus.
Candida nigris, nigra sit albis æmula vestis;
Tertia mixtum texta videtur sanctior istis;
Et quasi Pannus religionem conferat ullam,
Sic fugit unus, quam tulit alter, ferre cucullam.”

The following is an invective against a bishop, who had made a present of an indifferent threadbare cloke to the same poet; and is of the second species of rhyme above-mentioned:

“ Pon-

The origin of the Provençal and Romans' ^{Provençal poetry.} poetry is more curious and interesting. They were called Provençal poets, not because they were all natives of that country, but because they first appeared there, and generally employed the Provençal language. They were called Troubadours, from the genius and invention which they displayed in the subjects and conduct of their poetry¹⁷.

The chevalier Gregoire Bechada, of the cha- ^{Bechada.}teau of Tours, a man of genius, though of no great learning, was, excepting some translations of Scripture in rhyme, the first poet who wrote in Romans. He wrote in that language, says the historian¹⁸, that the people might read in their native tongue the acts of the brave warriors in the defence of Jerusalem against the Saracens. He employed twelve years, before the middle of the twelfth century, in composing it; and, though careful to write nothing but the truth, yet he was afraid to publish it, lest the

“ Pontificum spuma, fœx cleri, fordida struma
 Qui dedit in brumâ mihi mantellum sine plumâ.
 Hoc endumentum tibi qui dedit, an fuit emptor?
 Estne tuum? Nostrum, sed qui dedit abstulit ostrum.
 Quis dedit hoc munus? Præsul mihi præbuit unus.
 Quis dedit hoc munus? Dedit hoc in munere funus,
 Cernis adesse nives, moriere gelu, neque vives.
 Pauper mantelle macer, absque pilo, sine pelle,
 Si potes, expelle Boream, rabiemque procellæ;
 Sis mihi pro scuto ne frigore pungar acuto.

Hist. Lit. tom. xi. p. 3. 10

¹⁷ Ibid tom. ix. p. 176.

¹⁸ Chronic. Gaufrédi Vigenf.

vulgarity of the language should render it contemptible. This poem, however, is lost ¹⁹.

Wistace.

Wistace, or Eustache, a native probably of the county of Poitou, wrote the romance of Brutus, or the fabulous history of the British kings, in verse, about the same time. He dates it A. D. 1155. Praising his countrymen, he says :

“ Li Poitevin bien les requierent,
Li Troyen bien les refierent,
Long temps se sont combatu,
Que cil, ne cil, ne son vaincu,” &c.

Commending the supposed victories of Arthur, he says :

“ Et a Artus jura feauté
Et Artus l'a puis moult amé :
Les autre parties de France
Conquist Artus par grant puissance,” &c.

Regretting the fabulousness of this period of history, he says :

“ En ceste grant paix que je di,
Furent les merveilles trouvées,
Que d'Artus sont tant racomptées ;
Ne tout menfonge, ne tout voir,
Ne tout faulte, ne tout savoir,
Tant ont li compteur, compté,
Et li fableour tant fablé,
Pour le comptes embeleter,
Que tout ont fait fable sembler,” &c.

Gasse.

Wasse, or Gasse, author of Rou, or Rufus, wrote a continuation of Eustache's History of

¹⁹ Poësie du Roi de Navarre, Pref. p. 143.

the Bretons, from the time of the Norman Conquest, or rather of the dukes of Normandy; he describes his work as long and laborious ²⁰;

A Rou som venu, & de Rou nous diron,
La convence l'histoire, que nos dirè devon,
Me par l'œuvre esplotier, les vers abrigeron
La voie est longue, & grief, & le travail cremon," &c.

The allegorical poem of Alexander the Great, intended to describe the chief events of the conclusion of the reign of Lewis VII., and of the commencement of the reign of Philip Augustus, was written in the reign of the latter, by Lambert li Cors, and Alexander of Paris. Philip is the hero of the poem; and all that is said of Macedonia is intended for France. The following is the description of the tent of his hero, when he marched against Darius:

Allegorical
poem of
Alexander
the Great,

"A mont el chief en som, ou font li dui pomel
Par moult grande mestrie, i ot mis un oïsel,
A semblance d'un aigle, nus hom ne vit tant bel,
La reine le feit, qui ot nom Isabel," &c. ²¹

The success which attended these poets produced many inferior to them, whose names are recorded in the collections of the learned.

The ancient dit, or ditty, as it were one word, was a poetical description of a single action, intended to leave a strong impression of it on the mind.

²⁰ Poésie du Roi de Navarre, Pref. p. 153.

²¹ Ibid. p. 161. 219.

The *lais*, from the Latin *lessus*, was a plaintive song, or elegy, of five couplets, and a chorus of three or four lines ²².

Causes of
the Proven-
çal poetry.

The causes of the Provençal poetry were various: it seems desirable to trace and illustrate them.

I. The distance of that country from the seat of government, admitted of more freedom of thought and conduct, both in civil and ecclesiastical matters.

II. There is somewhat perhaps, in the nature of the climate, animating, and productive of cheerfulness, and even levity.

III. The great events of the times, co-operating with these and other circumstances, might contribute to rouse the imagination, and inspire the creative genius of poetry. The influence of the crusades was universal; their object was magnificent and distant. The spirit and object of chivalry were romantic and interesting; its appearance at the same time must have often been ludicrous, and moved an inventive fancy to ridicule. The flight and wanderings of the pope; the contentions so frequent, and often so important in their consequences, betwixt France and England; and the agitations occasioned by Hildebrand, pope Gregory VII.: all these, seldom formidable to individuals, excited imagi-

²² Fabliaux & Contes, Preface, p. 16—28.

nation,

nation, and rendered the poetic genius active and productive.

IV. The various sects, foreign and domestic, which opposed themselves to the Romish church, chiefly inhabited that country, as equally distant from Paris and Rome, and as governed by nobles favourably disposed to toleration and liberty. Some of them designedly, others because their genius inclined them, indulged in satire and ridicule against the church; they attacked the vices of the clergy and of the monks: their irony, it is true, provoked persecution, and gave rise to the inquisition; but their sufferings also excited sympathy and interest, and contributed both to inspire them with fortitude, and to propagate their poetical writings.

The Provençal and Troubadour poetry, however, was entirely suited to the times. It was the effect of genius, without learning or much taste; hence it excited great interest for a season, and declined. Some of the poems are lively and beautiful; but the greater part of them now afford no other pleasure, than as they are the remnants of antiquity, and the monuments of times which were certainly interesting.

Meantime, the poetic spirit, so cultivated in the south of France, and which was so amusing and generally acceptable, diffused itself over the neighbouring countries of France, Italy, and the whole of Europe. The genius was admired and imitated; the entertainment which it afforded was universally courted; that species of poetry, of course, became

became every where prevalent, in the language of other nations ²³.

Music.

THIS art, which had received some improvement in the preceding age, by the adaptation of the letters of the alphabet to represent musical notes, was now more generally cultivated. It was no longer confined to the church and the clergy; poets and jongleurs employed it along with the Provençal songs, for public amusement and social mirth.

A musical scale, and keys, were invented; and organs became frequent in cathedral churches.

The harp, mounted with twenty strings, to each of which allegorical names were given, was the instrument most commonly used for entertainment; but violins, flutes, and psalteries, often also accompanied the voice, in singing the songs and ballads of those times ²⁴.

Medicine.

It does not appear that medicine had yet become a regular profession. The monks and

²³ Discours prelim. au l'Hist. Liter. des Troubadours. Preface des Fables de Dryden.

²⁴ Hist. Littéraire, tom. vii. p. 143. tom. ix. p. 174. Les Poésies du Roi de Navarre, tom. i. p. 241. 248.

clergy.

clergy, who, in rude times, generally engross the learned professions and arts, were the chief medical practitioners. Of these, Fulbert of Chartres was the most celebrated in the eleventh century, till he was raised to the episcopal chair; then he seems to have thought it incompatible with his duties and dignity²⁵. Gilbert, bishop of Lisieux, was William the Conqueror's principal physician; he and Gontard, abbot of Jumièges, attended him in his last illness²⁶. John, a monk of Chartres, was physician to Henry I. king of England²⁷.

Medical art
in the hands
of the
clergy.

Some of the works of Galen and Hippocrates were known, and consulted by the medical students of those times²⁸.

In the twelfth century, the art of medicine began to be publicly taught at Montpellier, and at Paris²⁹.

While the medical practice of monks was confined to their own monasteries, they were not only encouraged, but some of them were required to study medicine: when their aid was more generally sought, and they were solicited abroad, over the country, they were often tempted to irregularities which appeared incompatible with the sanctity of their order; they

²⁵ Fulberti Epist. 10. 47. 113.

²⁶ Orderic. Vital. lib. iv. vii.

²⁷ Id lib. iii. v. Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 150.

²⁸ Anselm, lib. i. epist. 28. 36.

²⁹ Duchesne, tom. v. p. 323.

were

They are prohibited from practising it.

were therefore prohibited by the council of Rheims A. D. 1131, and of Tours A. D. 1163.

The art still empirical.

They were acquainted with neither anatomy nor botany. Their practice, which was altogether empirical, was directed by collections of receipts, handed down from former ages, and suggested by accident, fancy, and superstition.

Relics and processions resorted to.

The most common and successful remedies of the times, were the application of relics, and solemn processions to the shrines of the saints.

: "On the twentieth of July A. D. 1191," says Rigord, "Lewis, son of Philip Augustus, was taken ill of a disease, which the physicians called a dysentery. They despaired of his recovery; but, after due deliberation, they resolved on a solemn fast and procession. The whole fraternity of St. Denis marched barefoot to the church of St. Lazarus, carrying one of the nails of the crucifixion, the sacred crown of thorns, and an arm of old Simeon: there having offered the most fervent supplications, they were met by the whole convents of Paris, scholars of the academy, and people of the city, barefoot, carrying relics, singing aloud, and weeping bitterly. Thence they proceeded to the palace, where the young prince lay; there a sermon was preached to the multitude: the nail, the crown of thorns, and arm of Simeon, were solemnly applied by touch, and passed along and across the belly of the patient; he kissed them, and received the benediction. All which not only cured him,

“ him, but his father also, being then in bad
“ health in England ; and, to add to the joy of
“ the people, who returned in triumphant pro-
“ cession, it changed the state of the atmosphere,
“ and of the season, which till then was very
“ wet and unfavourable ”.”

The disease called *des ardens*, which appears to have been an epidemical hot fever, extremely mortal, breaking out into incurable ulcers, A. D. 1129, was cured over all the kingdom by a similar procession to the church of St. Genevieve¹¹.

³⁰ Rigord, p. 190.

¹¹ Père Felibien, *Hist. de Paris*, tom. i. p. 156.



CHAP. VI.

The History of Commerce, from the Accession of Hugh Capet A. D. 987, to the Death of St. Lewis A. D. 1226.

THE profession of a merchant became more respectable, as the relations and interests of society began to be better understood. The general intercourse, which attended and followed the crusades; the necessity for the intervention of merchants, to support and accommodate them with both money and provisions; the increase of fairs, and of cities; and the honesty and good faith which were found generally to attend mercantile transactions, rendered the profession more known and respectable.

Armour continued to be a species of manufacture in great demand, both for domestic and foreign use. The crusades required an immense supply; the English wars, and the wars of the Albigenes, together with the generally armed state of the country, kept the factories of armourers constantly and briskly occupied.

Manu-
facture of
arms.

The woollen cloths of Flanders began to be successfully imitated and manufactured in France.

Woollen
cloths.

The

Silk.

The manufacture of silk stuffs is supposed to have been introduced about this period from Sicily and Calabria ¹.

Public halls
and mar-
kets.

For the accommodation of the merchants of Paris, Philip Augustus, A. D. 1183, built two large halls, both for the purpose of lodging their goods, and holding the markets. They were protected by them, both against the weather and thievish plunderers ².

Trade by
water.

The trade by water appears to have become considerable, especially on the Seine, under the reign of Philip Augustus. The very carriage of provisions of all sorts for the city of Paris, now so extended and populous, must have required many vessels of a considerable tonnage. We are unable, however, by any records or facts, to ascertain the extent of either the tonnage or population.

Grain.
Spiceries

Besides grain of all sorts, wines, and salt, the spiceries of the East formed a considerable branch of trade. Few, if any ships, ventured at this time round the coasts of Spain into the Mediterranean: they sailed along the Seine and the Rhone as far as these rivers were navigable; the goods were then unshipped, and carried by land from the one river to the other. This was far more safe than on the open seas; though sometimes it was rendered insecure, or was altogether interrupted by turbulent barons. The count of Auxerre attempted to prohibit the Parisian tra-

¹ Hist. Lit. tom. ix. p. 224, 225.

² Rigord, p. 167.

ders from unloading their salt in his territories ; Salt. but the crown was now able to afford general security, and compelled the count to take off his prohibition ³.

That salt they brought most probably from the Mediterranean along the Rhone, then by land to Tonerre and Auxerre, and so by the Yonne and Seine to Paris.

The lead, with which the churches, men- Lead. tioned in the article of Architecture as so numerous, were roofed, was exported from England: and, in return, the English imported Wine. French wines.

The exclusive privileges of the Parisian mer- Privileges of Parisian merchants. chants inflamed their ambition to monopolise, not the trade of Paris only, but of France: they were opposed by the traders of Burgundy. The subject of contest was appealed to the king. Under his sanction, and by his charter A.D. 1204, it was agreed and determined, that the merchants within the king's own domains and those of Burgundy, without the concurrence and leave of the Parisians, might trade freely to the Oise, by Neuville, Gournay, the Aupeck, Argenteuil, and Corneil, and might go by water below Aupeck, but not nearer Paris than those places, without the intervention of a Parisian merchant ⁴.

³ Recueil des Pièces Justificat. du P. Félib. Hist. de Paris, tom. i. p. 97.

⁴ Ibid. tom. viii.

Interest.

The highest interest for money in loan, was settled by an ordinance of Philip Augustus, at two sols *per livre* (ten *per cent.*)⁵.

Debtor and creditor.

The crusades suggested the first mitigations of law and custom against debtors; humanity and good sense gradually produced others. Creditors were prohibited from seizing the raiment, furniture, and working tools of those indebted to them⁶.

Philip Augustus, A. D. 1220, granted the merchants of Paris the right of jurisdiction in all matters of an inferior nature (*justitia parva*), reserving to himself the right of judgment in high crimes (*justitia magna*), as robbery, &c. The judgment of fellow-citizens was likely to be as mild and equal as the general security would admit, when exercised on their fellow-citizens⁷.

By the same ordinances, he committed to the same body the right of regulating weights and measures.

For these privileges, they agreed to pay him yearly three hundred and twenty livres.

Money.

It must be observed, however, that the livre, which was formerly of fine silver, began, A. D. 1103, to be mixed with a third of copper.

⁵ Gulielm. de Nangis, ad Ann. 1218.

⁶ Rigord, p. 182. Felib. Hist. de Paris. Recueil des Pièces, tom. xi.

⁷ Felib. Hist. tom. i. p. 243.

According

According to M. le Blanc, the livre, A.D. 1113, was equal to sixty-six livres eight sols of his time.

The marc was the money current after the reign of Philip I. The marc of gold was equal to twenty modern livres.

The marc of silver, which was eight ounces, was in the twelfth century worth forty, and, in the beginning of the thirteenth century, worth fifty modern sous².

Under Philip I. the solidi began to be called francs and florins: deriving the first from the name by which the French were most generally known in the East; and the second from the people of Florence, who were the merchants and agents for France in the Levant, and in their eastern warlike expeditions.

Messrs. Peiresk and Gassendi having caused the congius kept in the palace of Farnese at Rome, Measures to be weighed with great accuracy, found its weight to be one hundred ounces and three-fourths of water; the setier (*sextarius*) eighteen ounces five-eighths; and the hemina, or half sextarius, nine ounces five-sixths; which answered exactly to the half-setier of the burgh of Paris, and nearly to one pint English.

In the scarcity A.D. 1195, formerly referred Price of provisions.

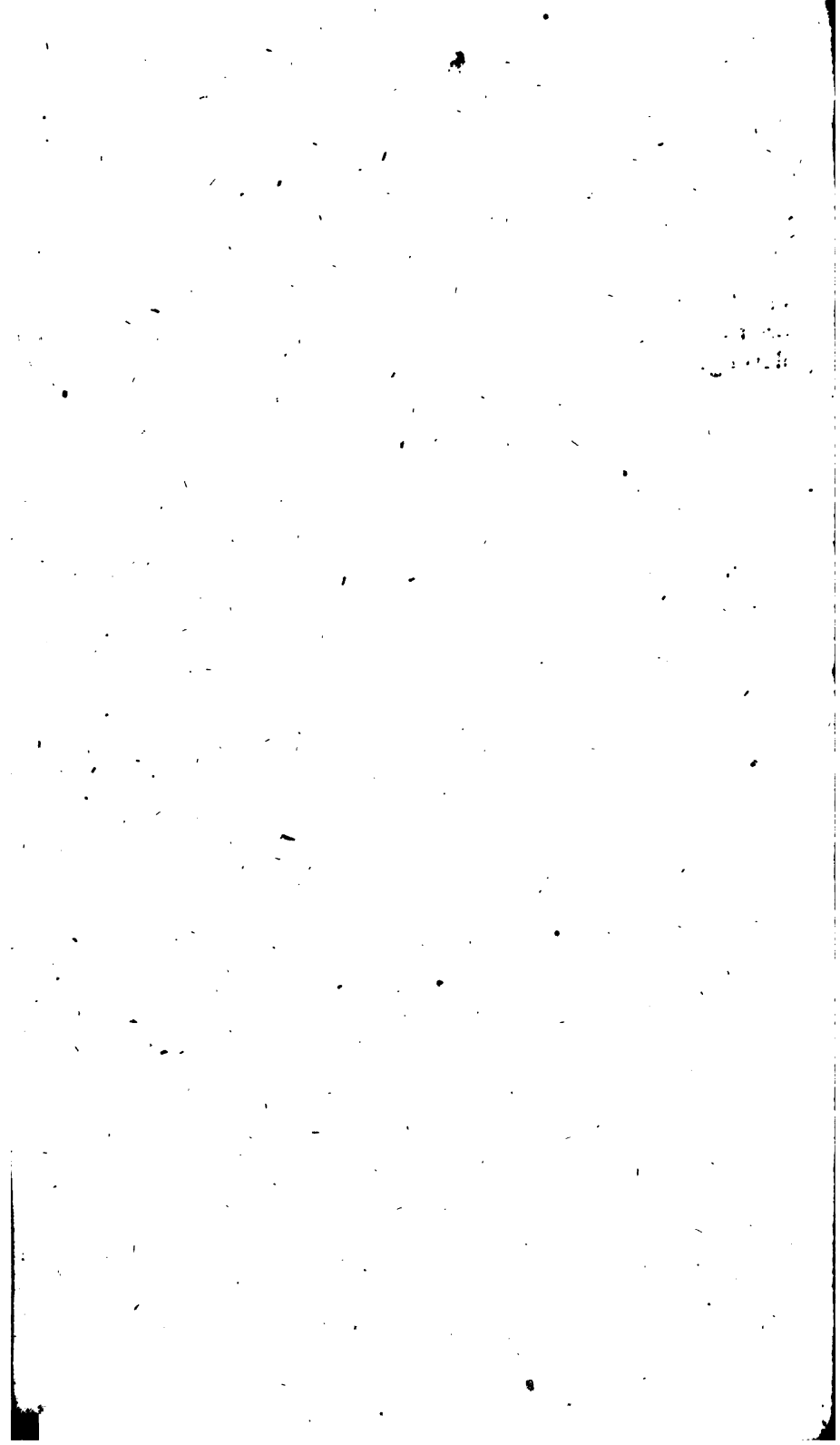
² M. le Blanc, *Traité Historique de la Monoye de France*.

to, Rigord observes, that the setier of grain sold for sixteen Parisian sols; the modius, which contained twelve setiers, consequently, was worth one hundred and ninety-two solidi, or nine livres twelve sours; which is equal to two hundred livres of Paris, or three hundred livres tournois of modern money. Supposing the scarcity to have doubled the price of grain, the common rate would be nearly the market-price of modern times.

The wall by which Paris was inclosed by order of Philip Augustus, extended one thousand two hundred and sixty toises. The mason work was four feet thick, and only three feet high; which, at the rate of a hundred sours, or five livres the toise, amounted to six thousand three hundred livres. Six gates, at one hundred and twenty livres each, amount to seven hundred and twenty livres. The total amount is seven thousand and twenty livres, or three thousand five hundred and ten marks of silver: this multiplied by fifty livres tournois, the modern price of the mark, makes one hundred and seventy-five thousand five hundred livres; equal to seven thousand three hundred and twelve pounds ten shillings sterling. Considering the difference of the rate of labour and provisions, this corresponds nearly with the present rates of masons' and carpenters' work. Wages then appear to have been about four or five sours a-day; five sours were then equal to about forty-four modern sours*.

*Memoires de l'Acad. tom. xxxii. p. 800.

To an English reader it may be proper to state, that twelve deniers make one sol, = one halfpenny sterling; twenty sols = one livre, or ten-pence sterling; fifty livres = one marc, or two pounds one shilling and eight-pence sterling.



CHAP. VII.

The History of Language, Customs, and Manners,
from the Accession of Hugh Capet, A.D. 987,
to the Accession of St. Lewis, A. D. 1226.

SECT. I.

Of Language.

THE gradual revolution of the Celtic and Latin tongues, and their mixture and union in forming the Romanesque or Romans tongue, have been already traced down to the end of the tenth century: then the Romans had become the vulgar or common tongue of the people; and was even beginning to be a written language. It was sometimes used in speeches addressed to the assemblies of the clergy and nobles¹. Political transactions, designed to be understood by all the people, were written in it²: homilies were translated into it for the instruction and edification of the people, in obedience to the canons of the councils of Rheims and Tours, A. D. 813, and of Mayence, A. D. 847. Notger, bishop of Liege, A. D. 972, preached

¹ Council of Moufon, A. D. 995.

² Convention of Strasburgh, A. D. 842. Coblenz, A. D. 860.

in it to the people, and in Latin to his clergy³. William of Normandy having conquered England A. D. 1066, introduced new laws into that kingdom in the Romans language, which became the language of the court and of the courts of justice. In France, it became sooner familiar in the provinces than at Paris, where, by the resort of the more learned, the Latin continued longer to prevail. It appears to have been most early cultivated, and most frequently employed in writing, in Provence, and south of the Loire⁴. Few writings remain, if they ever existed, in the Romans language, before the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth century. St. Bernard, however, who wrote sermons about A. D. 1137, is one exception⁵; the book of the

³ Hist. Lit. de la France, tom. vii. Avertissement, p. 41.

⁴ Specimen of the language at that time south of the Loire:

Monge, causetz segon vostra siença,
Qual valon mais Catalan, o Francés?
E met sai Guascuenha e Proença,
E Lemozi, Alvarnh e Vianes;
E de lai met la terra del dos reis.
E quan fabetz dels totz lur captenença,
Vueil que m' digatz en cal plus fis pretzes.

“ Tell me, monks, which, in your opinion, is most worthy of esteem, the Catalans or the French? that is, the people of Gascony, Limoufin, Auvergne, and Viennois; or the territory of the two kings of France and England. As you know well the manners of these nations, tell me which of them you prefer.” *Remarques sur la Langue Franc. par M. de la Curne de St^e Val. Mem. de l'Acad. tom. xxiv. p. 671.*

⁵ “ Enfi sont pluifors gent cui fruit sachet, & chieient, por ceu k'il trop hastiullement naissent. Ce sunt cil ki en l'encomencement de lor conversion vuelent apermemes fructifier

the Bretons, composed A. D. 1155, is another⁶.

In the reign of Philip Augustus, we find the poem of Alexander the Great written in Romans. Most authors have supposed it thirty years older; but, as it is an allegorical history of the chief events in the end of the reign of Lewis, and in the beginning of that of Philip Augustus, it must of course belong to the end of the twelfth, or beginning of the thirteenth century. The language is plainly improved in it, and the verse is smooth and harmonious. The narration is generally simple, and the descriptions are frequently animated.

fier par une p̄sumptuose badise." Fol. 125 du Manusc. des Feuillans, en l'Ordene de Cheval. p. 26.

" Thus there are many persons whose fruit withers and falls, because they grow too quickly. Such are those who in the beginning of their conversion wish, by a presumptuous vanity, to appear instantly fruitful."

⁶ This book, written in rhyme, contains the fabulous history of the kings of England. The name of the author, and the date of the work, appear in the following lines:

" Puis, que Dieu incarnation

" Priit pour notre redemption

" M. C. L. & cinq ans,

" Fist maitre Wiltace c'est Romans."

Revolut. de la Langue Franc. Pref. à les Poësies du Roi de Navarre, par l'Evêque de Ravalere.

As the Latin still continued to be the language of the church and of the learned, light fabulous works in either prose or verse, being designed for the use of the people generally, were written in the Romans language; and hence books of that description came to receive the name of romance.

In

In the following passage, the author favours the opinion of those, who think that the origin of the twelve peers may be dated in the end of the twelfth century. He represents Aristotle advising Alexander to choose twelve of the nobles to discipline and conduct the army :

“ Elifez douze pers, qui soient compaignon,
 “ Qui mainront vous batailles tozjors par devision ? ”

In the thirteenth century, the language loses its name of Romans, and assumes the more dignified name of French, on being employed in the more grave and useful books of history and government. Ville Harduin wrote his history of the Conquest of Constantinople in it; and mentions the date of that event in the following passage: “ Sachies que 1198 ans après l’Incar-
 “ nation nostre Segnor J. C. al tens Inn-
 “ cent III. Apostoile de Rome, & Filippe (Au-
 “ guste, ou Second) Roi de France, & Richart,
 “ Roi d’Engleterre, ot un saint home en
 “ France qui ot nom Folques,” &c. &c..¹

This was the period of the commencement of the Provençal poetry, or the poetry of the Troubadours. An account of them, and specimens of their writing, will be found under the article Poetry.²

¹ Poesie du Roi de Navarre, Pref. p. 160.

² Dictionnaire de la Langue Rom. Disc. Pref. p. 42.

³ The history of this language is detailed with considerable minuteness, and its remote antiquity maintained with great zeal, by the authors of the Hist. Lit. de la France; tom. vii. Avertissement prefixed.

SECT. II.

Of Customs and Manners.

SOME of the features on the character of this period, from the end of the tenth to the beginning of the thirteenth century, are prominent and romantic.

A warlike spirit predominated; but it was a spirit less serious and fierce, than that of the preceding ages. It was associated more with the softer passions; with the desire of fame; with vanity, and a love of pleasure. Instead of every man turning his arms against his immediate neighbour, or against his sovereign, warriors aspired after the renown to be derived from the battles, the sieges, the combats, and the conquests of Asia.

In the intervals of general peace, they amused themselves, and entertained the public, with the image of war, represented in tilts and tournaments. <sup>Tourna-
ments.</sup>

So fond were the French of these military representations, that they preferred them to every other pursuit; they indulged in them, notwithstanding the ecclesiastical prohibitions of them; and, by particular civil laws, authorised and regulated

gulated them, as matters of the utmost importance.

The time and place of their exhibition were extensively and solemnly proclaimed by heralds. Every man who had any ambition to be distinguished for nobility, martial prowess, honour, and gallantry, attended, and pressed into the list of combatants. Veterans were solicitous to display at home the feats of strength, expertness, and skill, which had distinguished them abroad. The youth were desirous to try their martial talents, to emulate men of renown, and to learn, on occasions so public and critical, the most dextrous management and exercise of arms.

It was an exercise fatiguing, laborious, and often dangerous: yet, being frequented by ladies in great numbers, and of the first ranks, it was animated by their presence, and mollified by the greatest respect for their feelings and judgment. The ladies did not attend merely as spectators; they bore a considerable share in the ceremonies, and were constituted the judges of the combat, by whose decision the victors were declared and crowned.

This is the circumstance which chiefly distinguishes the combats of that age. For single combats, of a more serious and awful nature, as decisions on questions of justice and law, called Judgments of God, and as instant determinations on the fate of armies and nations, may be traced in former ages, and to periods of the remotest antiquity. Examples occur in the life of David king.

king of Israel, in the Iliad of Homer, and repeatedly in the early history of the Romans. Of this kind, but altogether for the purpose of entertainment, were the gladiatorial combats, so common at Rome. That celebrated people appear to have sometimes also rested the issue of important litigations respecting offices and property, on the decision of the sword*.

This mode of trial and judgment became common in France, as has been shewn in the two preceding books. It was regulated by the canons of the church, and laws of the state. Many religious ceremonies were annexed to it. This mixture of religious solemnity and order with martial deeds, produced the romantic character of the tournament; and the security afforded by much precision of arrangement, rendered it safe, and even decorous, for ladies to enjoy the entertainment.

The combatants prepared themselves by fasting, watching, and prayer, in some neighbour-

* Velleius Paterculus, lib. ii, informs us, that, in the reign of the emperor Tiberius, the Germans gave public thanks to Quintilius Varus, for terminating by justice what used to be decided by arms. T. Livius, lib. xxviii. c. 21. describes an interesting combat exhibited before the famous Scipio at Carthage, for the government of the city Ibis in Africa. He observes, that the spectacle of gladiators was not always afforded by men trained to that profession, and by slaves and criminals. "Sed clari, illustresque Corbis & Orsua patruales fratres, de principatu civitatis, quam Ibem vocabant, ambigentes, ferro se certaturos professi sunt."

Various deeds of the confirmation of privileges granted on the principle of judicial combat, may be seen in Muratori Antiquit. Med. Ævi, tom. vi. p. 639, &c.

ing church ; they received the sacrament, and priestly benediction ; their race of nobility, and their character in arms and morals, for some generations, were approved and attested. Their armour was buckled and girt on them by their squires and pages ; some of it by the ladies, from whom they received a piece of ribbon, or other token of favour, which was fastened on a conspicuous part of their armour.

They sometimes ruined their fortune by costly equipage, and ornaments of gold, silver, and precious stones.

On the field was formed a temporary amphitheatre, fitted up with scaffolds for the spectators. At the hour appointed, the warriors entered : each knight was attended and supported by his squires and valets behind him. The signal was given ; the combat began : as success or defeat appeared to attend the favoured party, shouts of applause, or howlings of fear, arose ; and after a long, sometimes a severe, and not seldom a dangerous contest, the signal again was given, and the combat ceased.

The canons of the church in the twelfth century frequently prohibited these tournaments, as inconvenient, rude, and fatal to many individuals. The combatants were often bruised, and wounded ; for the swords and clubs with which they fought, were long and heavy ; they suffered by falls, by the rearing, and plunging, and trampling of their horses. The spectators too were often endangered by various accidents, as well

well as by clouds of dust and exposure to inclement weather. But no laws were sufficient to restrain them, till various abuses, degeneracy of rank, frequency, and ever-changing time and fashion, diminished their respectability and influence. They disappeared in the sixteenth century.

Females, who had long been excluded, during the ages of turbulence and extreme disorder, from general intercourse, returned in the eleventh and twelfth centuries with increased influence over society. They not only partook, as hath just been described, of the amusement of arms, but many of them received an education similar nearly to that of the most learned men. They were qualified to engage, and are found to have sometimes assisted, in the literary contests of the schoolmen. Without the knowledge of Latin they could not even be received into a monastery; and when that language was familiar to them, the whole treasures of learning were unlocked and easily accessible. The letters of Eloisa shew the degree of elegance to which some of them attained in writing that language: and, with similar genius and diligence, many of them might equal her in the philosophy and eloquence of the times. Others had the same means and motives with her to cultivate learning, and they were surely incommoded with fewer distractions. Female schools and monasteries were extremely numerous; and many individuals in them are recorded to have excelled in the various branches of learning².

* Hist. Liter. tom. ix. p. 127—131.

Marriage.

The superstition of the times, and the influence and interest of the church, were very unfavourable to the marriage relation. The extension of the degrees of kindred within which it was not lawful to marry, rendered it easy for those who were so inclined, to dissolve their marriage. Examples of divorces on this account, among the higher ranks, are frequent in the histories of those times. No registers were kept. Appeals respecting kindred, therefore, could be made to the memory only of witnesses who happened to survive³.

To prevent imposition, and to secure sobriety and publicity, marriages were ordained to be celebrated in church, and before the parties broke their fast⁴.

An example of longevity is recorded by William of Nangis, A. D. 1139, which, though almost incredible, yet deserves attention. He is an historian of credit, and wrote in the century immediately following. His words are: "This year, 1139, died John of Times, (Joannes de Temporibus,) who had lived three hundred and sixty-one years, having been armour-bearer to Charlemagne."

Social intercourse.

Till the crusades, which increased as they facilitated the means of intercourse, there was little communication between different provinces. The abbot of Clugni excused himself from accepting

³ Synodicz Constitut. Odonis Episcop. Paris. Acta Concil. tom. vi. part 2. p. 1941.

⁴ Ibid. part 1. p. 191.

an invitation to the neighbourhood of Paris, as if it had been a journey to a foreign country, which he had not courage to undertake.

The roads, indeed, were not favourable, and the enmities and wars of adjacent baronies must have rendered it frequently dangerous to travel.

These private wars were greatly restrained by what was called the Truce of God; that is, by ecclesiastical prohibitions, under the severest penalties, to shed blood, or to use arms, from Wednesday evening till Monday morning, and for several weeks at other seasons of the year.

There was, however, one class of persons ^{Mendi-} who could always travel with safety: these were ^{cants.} monks, who were appointed to carry relics, and to beg for their monasteries. When the church of Nôtre Dame of Laon was burnt, it was resolved to use this expedient to procure aid for rebuilding it. Seven canons and six laymen were sent a-begging, and miracle-working, over the kingdom; and their success, by their own account, was very great. Next year they extended their peregrinations for the same purpose, even into England, with similar success^s.

The dress of laymen was woollen, silk, and ^{Dress.} linen, of any, or of various colours. Their shoes were tight, and very pointed at the toes. They wore cotton bonnets, or caps; and white leather gloves.

^s Hist. Liter. tom. xiv. p. 169, 170.

All these were forbidden to the clergy. Their dress was a black coat, or white linen frock. When they went abroad on foot, they were required to wear a long cloke, down to their heels, and sewed or clasped close before, on the breast⁶.

The official dress of the bishops, the mitre, the surplice, gloves, sandals, and crozier, was allowed by Urban II., and other popes of this period, to be used by abbots. Some of them, as Peter, abbot of Cuves, declined that honour; but it was generally acceptable.

Games.

The clergy were prohibited from playing at the ordinary games of dice, chess, hand-ball, &c. Cards were not yet invented.

At Clugni, where the monastic discipline was maintained with great strictness, particularly with respect to silence, the monks learned to converse readily by signs with their fingers.

Large wax candles, though not placed yet on the altars, were usual in the churches⁷.

Bells.

The first instance of the benediction of a bell occurs in the tenth century. Consecration, by oil, by water, and by prayer, was intended to render it the more effectual, not merely in summoning the people to the various exercises of religion, but in calming tempests and thunderstorms, during which it was usual to ring it; and

⁶ Acta Concil. Paris. tom. vi. part 2. p. 2007. 2046.

⁷ Helgaldi, p. 66.

in dispelling evil spirits from those for whom public prayers and masses were offered⁸.

It had been customary, on the death of the bishop of Paris, for the king to seize on all his moveables. Lewis VII. relinquished that custom for a sum of money, when he set off on a crusade for the Holy Land. Bishop Maufice, A. D. 1168, having bequeathed his bed with its furniture to the poor of the Hôtel de Dieu, his example was followed by the canons, and became a custom which was observed by the chapter⁹.

The bed and bolster were of feathers. The Beds. curtains were sometimes of silk. Rich coverlets of fur were used, but forbid to the clergy¹⁰.

Reverence for the sacred elements of our Lord's Supper was, or was professed to be, extreme¹¹. If a drop of the wine fell by accident on the table-cloth, or on any other thing which could be cut and kept, it was taken off, and preserved as a relic. If it fell on any thing else, as stone or earth, it was required to be scraped, and the dust to be carefully collected and laid in

Reverence
for sacred
elements.

⁸ Hence the inscriptions found on them :

" Funera plango, fulgura frango, sabbata pango.

" Excito lentos, dissipio ventos, paco cruentos."

And,

" Laudo Deum verum, plebem voco, conjugo clerum.

" Defunctos ploro, pestem fugo, festa decoro."

⁹ Felib. Hist. de Paris, tom. i. p. 198.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Synod. Constitut. Odon. 1947.

the sacristy. A fly, or spider, falling into it, was to be picked out, and burnt.

Vestiges of
Pagan cus-
toms.

On the eves of the feasts of several of the Saints, the people appear to have still retained some of the old leaven of the Pagan superstition. On these occasions, that were intended to be observed with so much solemnity, they danced in and around the churches, sung love-songs, and encouraged dramatic performances. Prohibitions of all this by ecclesiastical councils were frequently issued; but, even so late as the beginning of the thirteenth century, they continued to be generally disregarded. The seventeenth canon of the council of Avignon, A. D. 1209, is expressive of strong indignation against them.

Feast of
Fools.

The Feast of Fools, which was celebrated on Epiphany, the first day of January, in the cathedral churches, was strictly, but ineffectually prohibited by the fifteenth canon of the council of Paris, A. D. 1212. The principal actors in that most ridiculous and absurd farce, which seems to have been grafted on the Roman Saturnalia, a jubilee, in which masters descended to a level with their servants, and were accustomed to be treated by them with the greatest familiarity, levity, and even indecency¹², were the clergy. They assembled; they elected a pope, or bishop, whom they conducted with great pomp to the church, and having there installed him, the people expressed their joy by singing,

¹² Horat. Satyr. ii. 7. T. Liv. ii. 21. & xxii. 1. Sueton. Claud. 17.

dancing,

dancing, masquerade, and dramatic performances. Some dared to eat and drink at the altar, as at a common table; some burnt their old shoes for incense; some played at dice; while others indulged in obscene and indecent pleasures. Quarrels often arose, which issued in tumult and bloodshed¹³.

The Feast of Asses was celebrated in the cathedral church of Rouen, on Christmas. ^{Feast of Asses.} Originally it might be well intended; but it certainly degenerated into the most ludicrous and pernicious farce. It was a procession, intended to represent the prophets who had foretold the coming of our Lord: Balaam, mounted on an ass, was one of the most conspicuous figures in it; he was attended by the representatives of Zacharias, Elifabeth, John the Baptist, Simeon, the Sibyl Erythreas, Virgil, Nebuchadnezzar, &c. They walked from the cloister to the church, where a great multitude was drawn up on both sides, as Jews and Gentiles. A conversation or drama took place betwixt the procession and the people; they sung together, and then engaged in the service of the mass¹⁴.

At Beauvais, a similar festival was celebrated ^{Feast at Beauvais.} on the eleventh of January, in commemoration of Joseph's flight with Jesus and his mother into Egypt. A handsome young woman, with a good looking child, was placed on an ass, and

¹³ Ducange, voc. Halendor. Dict. Historique au mot, Fête.

¹⁴ Ducange, tom. iii. p. 424.

was followed by the bishop and clergy, from the cathedral church to the parochial church of St. Stephen. Mass being performed, the priest concluded it, not with the usual words of the mass service,—“*Ite, missa est* ;” but with an imitation of the braying of the ass,—“*Hin, han,*” three times repeated. Ducange has preserved the following hymn, which was performed on that occasion :

*Orientis partibus
Adventavit Asinus
Pulcher, & fortissimus
Sarcinus aptissimus.*

*Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez
Belle bouche, rechinez
Vous aurez du foin assez,
Et de l'Avoine a plantez.*

*Lentus erat pedibus,
Nisi foret baculus,
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.*

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

*Hic in collibus Sichem
Jam nutritus sub rubem,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethlehem.*

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

*Ecce magnis auribus
Subjugalis filius,
Asinus egregius
Asinorum Dominus.*

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

*Saltu vincit hinnulus
Danas & Capreolos
Super dromedarios
Velox madiancos.*

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Aurum

Aurum de Arabia,
Thus & Myrrham de Saba,
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum farcinula
Illius mandibula
Dura terit pabula.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Cum Aristis hordeum
Comedit, & carduum
Triticum a palea
Segregat in area.

Hez, Sire Asne, car chantez, &c.

Amen, dicæ Asine, (ici on flechissoit le genon)
Jam satur de gramine
Amen, amen, itera
Aspernare vetera.

Hez va ! hez va ! hez va hez !

Bialx, Sire Asine, car allez,
Belle bouche, car chantez.

Theatrical performers were patronised by the kings of France, and were accustomed to receive the refuse of their wardrobe. Prejudiced against them, probably on account of the support which their art gave to the Albigenes against the church, Philip Augustus withdrew his countenance from them, and gave them neither his wardrobe, nor other usual donations¹⁵.

These performers consisted of four classes: the troubadours, inventors, or poets; the singers, or musicians; the orators, or story-tellers;

¹⁵ Rigord, p. 178.

and the jugglers, or actors in pantomime and buffoonery, not always of the most decent kind¹⁶.

Public deeds began to be subscribed by the state-officers under Philip I. It was done regularly, and held essential in the reign of Philip II.

The impression of seals was frequently taken on public papers with lead, in place of wax, as now used.

The degrees of bachelor and doctor, were first conferred on the learned in the twelfth century. Some derive the first of these titles from *baculus*, a rod, which was put into the hand of the person receiving the degree in arts, divinity, &c.; but it appears more probably derived from the analogous degrees in chivalry, *bas chevalier*, a squire, or knight of an inferior order.

The streets of Paris were first paved A. D. 1185¹⁷. Surnames began to be used in the eleventh century, descriptive of personal appearance, and qualities, of office, property, residence, family, &c.¹⁷

From the crusades, and from chivalry, both of them abundant sources of new customs and manners, arose the whole system of heraldry. In the former, the soldiers of different nations, and vassals of different chieftains, were distin-

¹⁶ Introd. à les Poésies du Roi de Navarre, p. 255.

¹⁷ Rigord, p. 173.

guished by different emblems; and the knights themselves, encased from head to foot in iron, could not be distinguished but by some external badge.¹ The coat of mail was therefore ornamented with some symbolical device, most frequently made of a piece of embroidered cloth, or simply painted on a conspicuous part of the iron coat itself. The device referred to some achievement, or feat of arms, performed by the chieftain; or other remarkable incident in his history, or that of his family.

These emblems, devices, or achievements, were, in like manner, painted or embroidered on the ensigns or standards of the several military corps, in order to distinguish them².

The oriflame, or national standard of France, was originally a lance, or long spear, of gilded copper, with a flag attached to it of red silk. During peace, it was lodged in the church of St. Denis, whence, on the march of the army on great occasions, it was taken by the king with great religious solemnity.

The royal standard having the flower-de-luce painted or embroidered on it, is first mentioned at the battle of Bouvines, as opposed, along with the oriflame, to the imperial eagle and dragon. It was a gilded staff, or long spear, with a flag of white silk, ornamented with flowers-de-luce, or lis, in the colour of gold.


¹ Origine des Ornaments des Armoiries, par le R. P. C. F. Menestrier. Journal des Sçavans, tom. vii. 274. & tom. viii. p. 101.

Both these standards were always carried near the king; and one, or both of them, was lowered as the signal that his person was in imminent danger.

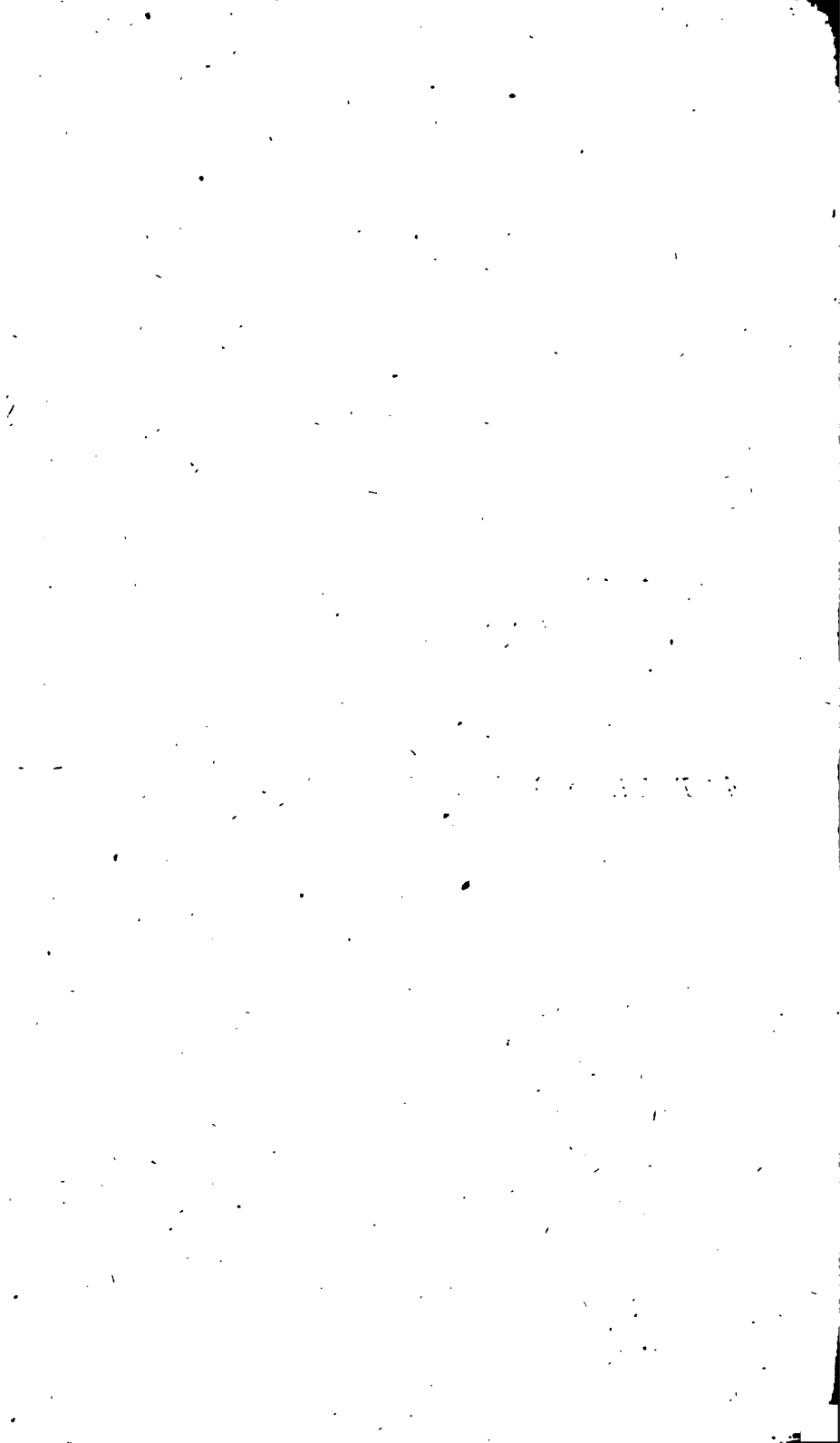
Some authors have represented the figure of what is called the flower-de-luce as simply representing the head of a spear.

William of Nangis gives a different account of it: "From the time," says he, "when it pleased God to distinguish the kingdom of France above the other kingdoms of the earth, in religion, learning, and military renown, its kings have been accustomed to bear the flower-de-luce (*florem lilii depictum trino folio*) on their arms and standards, as if they proclaimed to the world that, by the Providence of God, France abounded more in religion, learning, and military spirit, than any other kingdom; for," adds he, "the two equal and side-leaves of the flower denote Wisdom and War, by which Faith, placed between them, and more elevated, is guarded and defended. As long as these remain united, the kingdom of France shall flourish; but, if they shall ever be separated, it must fall."

"Chron. Gulielm. Nangii, A. D. 1230.



APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
A SKETCH OF THE LIVES,
AND
TWO OF THE LETTERS,
OF
ABEILLARD AND HELOISA.



APPENDIX.

A GENERAL view is given of the ecclesiastical and literary life of Peter Abeillard in the second chapter of this volume. There it would have been improper to have introduced any anecdotes of his private history; and, in a character so celebrated, to omit them altogether, might be justly censurable. I shall therefore now add the two most interesting Epistles which passed between him and Heloisa, and which contain an account of the principal circumstances of their intercourse.

To such as may not be acquainted with the history of that intercourse, it is necessary to observe, that, in the height of Abeillard's fame as a scholar and a public teacher, when young, handsome, and most agreeable in conversation, he was invited by Fulbert, a canon of the cathedral church of Paris, to lodge in his house, and to teach his niece Heloisa. She was a young lady in her eighteenth year, of great beauty, of uncommon mental talents, and highly cultivated by all the means of literature accessible in those times. She was familiar with the Greek and Roman classics in their own tongue; and in philosophy was scarcely inferior to any of the learned of that age.

To

To facilitate and perfect the improvement of his niece, on whom he doated with parental fondness, Fulbert received Abeillard into his house as a boarder, and as Heloisa's private tutor. His trust was grossly abused : she became pregnant, and was privately married to Abeillard.

Marriage, however, in times when every motive and the highest authority were employed to establish the celibacy of the clergy, both regular and secular, was so unfavourable to the interest and ambition of Abeillard, that Heloisa and he agreed to conceal their conjugal union ; and for his sake, in this view she preferred being called his mistress, to the more virtuous and honourable appellation of wife.

Mean time her uncle and his friends conspired to take a signal and peculiar vengeance on Abeillard, which threatened his life, and exposed him at the same time to universal derision. He was unable to bear the disgrace of an eunuch, and proposed to bury himself in a cloister. Heloisa, however, he could not leave in the world behind him, and persuaded her, yet in her twentieth year, to profess herself a nun, and take the veil in the abbey of Argenteuil. He then retired to the abbey of St. Denis. He was some time after promoted to be abbot of St. Gildas ; and she became abbess of the Paraclete, a monastery founded entirely by him in the forest of Nogent-sur-la-Seine, in Champagne. He was born A. D. 1079, and died A. D. 1142. She died about twenty years after him, and was nearly twenty years younger. .

There

There are three or four other letters usually published, besides these two, of which I have given a translation; two from her, and two answers from him; but they neither contain additional facts or circumstances of any importance, nor are they so interesting. Her second letter is written with equal ardour: she is alarmed by the expression in his first letter, that his life was in danger: he replies with similar gravity, if not indifference, as formerly. In her third letter, she requests rules and directions with respect to the management of the Paraclete, and the conduct of the sisters; to which he writes a very long, tedious, and uninteresting answer.

Pope's translation, or poem on this subject, is composed of parts of both the first and second letters; but ought to be considered rather as a luscious poem founded on them, than by any means a translation of them.



APPENDIX.

LETTERS

OF

ABEILLARD AND HELOISA.

LETTER I.—HELOISA TO ABEILLARD,

Her Lord, her Father, her Husband, her Brother.

YOUR letter of consolation written to a Friend, was lately, as by chance, put into my hands. From the very address, I knew the hand-writing to be yours; and my ardent affection for you made me read it with eagerness. I had lost yourself; I hoped from your words, a faint present-

ABEILLARDI ET HELOISÆ EPISTOLÆ.

EPISTOLA I.—HELOISÆ ABELARDO,

Domino suo, imo Patri; Conjugi suo, imo Fratri; Ancilla sua, imo Filia; ipsius Uxor, imo Soror: Abelardo Heloisa.

MISSAM ad amicum pro consolatione epistolam, dilectissime, vestram ad me forte quidam nuper attulit. Quam ex ipsa statim tituli fronte vestram esse considerans, tanto ardentius eam cœpi legere, quanto scriptorem ipsum charius amplector: ut cujus rem perdidici, verbis saltem, tanquam ejus.

presentation of you, to derive some comfort. But the impression is still strong on my mind; every word was gall and wormwood: it related our deplorable history, and your consequent and uninterrupted sufferings.

The promise made to your Friend, you have too well fulfilled, that you should describe a series of calamities, compared to which his would seem as nothing. Having exposed the persecutions which you had suffered from your masters, and the cruel deed of my uncle, you proceeded to state the accursed envy of Albericus of Rheims, and Lotulphus of Lombardy, by whose suggestions your admirable work on the Trinity was condemned to the flames, and yourself thrown into confinement. The machinations of the abbot of St. Denis, and of your false brethren, next engaged your attention; and the calumnies

quadam imagine recreer. Erant memini hujus epistolæ fere omnia felle, & absinthio plena, quæ scilicet nostræ conversationis miserabilem historiam, & tuas, unice, cruce assiduas referebant.

Complesti revera in epistola illa, quod, in exordio ejus, amico promissisti, ut videlicet in comparatione tuarum suas molestias nullas vel parvas reputares. Ubi quidem expositis prius magistrorum tuorum in te persecutionibus deinde in corpus tuum summæ prodicionis injuria, ad condiscipulorum quoque tuorum Alberici videlicet Remensis, & Lotuli Lombardi execrabilem invidiam, & infestationem nimiam stilum contulisti. Quorum quidem suggestionibus quid te glorioso illo theologiæ tuæ opere, quid de tempore quasi in carcere damnato actum sit, non prætermisisti. Inde ad abbatis tui fratrumque falsorum machinationem accessisti, & detractio-

lumpies of those two false apostles, Norbert and Bernard, whom envy moved against you. The very name of Paraclet, being unusual, given by you to the oratory which you erected, was imputed to you as a crime. In fine, you conclude your epistle with the incessant persecutions of the Monks of St. Gildas, whom you deign, notwithstanding, to call your children.

Which things, no one, I think, could read, or hear, without tears. The more minute your description, the more severe was my anguish; and it was greatly augmented by the consideration that dangers still press you, threatening your very life.

For Christ's sake, who still I trust protects
you,

tiones illas, tibi gravissimas duorum illorum pseudo-apostolorum à prædictis æmulis in te commotas, atque ad scandalum plerisque subortum de nomine Paracleti oratorio præter consuetudinem imposito; denique ad intolerabiles illas & adhuc continuas vitæ persecutiones, crudelissimi scilicet illius exactoris, & pessimorum, quos filios nomines, monachorum præfectus, miserabilem historiam consummasti,

Quæ cum sicca oculis neminem vel legere, vel audire posse æstimem; tanto dolores meos amplius renovares, quanto diligentius singula exprefferunt, & eo magis auxerunt, quo in te adhuc pericula crescere retulisti; ut omnes pariter de vita tua desperare cogamur, & quotidie ultimos illos de peccis tuis rumores trepidantia nostra corda, & palpitantia pectora expectant.

Per ipsum itaque, qui te sibi adhuc quoquomodo protegit, Christum obsecramus; quatenus ancillulas ipsius & teas
B B 2 crebris

you, inform us, my Abeillard, of every circumstance of your danger; that we may be partakers of your griefs. The very assurance of sympathy, you know, diminishes sorrow; the load which many bear is easily sustained: and, when the storm shall subside, O, fail not instantly to communicate to us this joy! Whatever you write, your letters will be most acceptable; and will particularly satisfy us that we are not forgotten by you.

How pleasing are the letters of absent friends! Seneca acknowledges and exemplifies it: "I thank you," says he to his friend Lucilius, "for your frequent letters; for by these, the only means in your power, you favour me with your presence: I receive your letters, as if I took yourself by the hand." And indeed,
if

crebris literis de his, in quibus adhuc fluctuas, naufragiis certificare digneris; ut nos saltem quæ tibi solæ remansimus doloris vel gaudii participes habeas. Solent etenim dolenti nonnullam afferre consolationem qui condolent, & quodlibet onus pluribus impositum levius sustinetur, sive desertur. Quod si paululum hæc tempestas quieverit, tanto amplius maturandæ sunt literæ, quanto sunt jucundiores futuræ. De quibuscunque autem nobis scribis, non parvum nobis remedium conferes; hoc saltem uno quod te nostri memorem esse monstrabis.

Quam jocundæ vero sint absentium literæ amicorum, ipse nos exemplo proprio Seneca docet, ad amicum Lucilium quodam loco sic scribens: "Quod frequenter mihi scribis gratias ago. Nam quoquo modo potes te mihi ostendere? Numquam epistolam tuam accipio, quin protinus uva simas." Si imagines nobis amicorum absentium jocundæ
sunt,

if the images of our Friends give us pleasure, and mitigate the pain of their absence, how much more enjoyment must their letters afford, which convey their very sentiments. I thank God, no envy can forbid, no obstacle prevent this intercourse: be not yourself, I pray you, the only impediment.

You wrote your Friend a long epistle; and, to alleviate his misfortunes, you recounted your own. By the narration intended for his comfort, you have desolated our heart; it was balm to him; it was poison to us: the former wounds which you inflicted, you have torn open; you have added new ones. You have complied with your Friend's request, and discharged the duty of humanity; but are there not duties of a nearer relation owing to us? We are not ordinary companions

sunt, quæ memoriæ renovant, & desiderium absentiae falso atque inani solatio levant; quanto jucundiores sunt literæ, quæ amici absentis veras notas afferunt? Deo autem gratias, quod hoc saltem modo præsentiam tuam nobis reddere nulla invidia prohiberis, nulla difficultate præpediris; nullo (obsecro) negligentia retarderis.

Scripsisti ad amicum prolixa consolationem epistolæ, & pro adversariis quidem suis, sed de tuis. Quas videlicet tuas diligenter commemorans, cum ejus studes consolationi, nostræ plurimum addidisti desolationi, & dum ejus mederi vulneribus cuperes, nova quædam nobis vulnera doloris inflixisti, & priora auxisti. Sana, obsecro, ipse quæ fecisti, quæ qui alii fecerunt, curare satagis. Morem quidem amico, & socio gessisti, & tam amicitia, quam societatis debitum persolvisti; sed majori te debito nobis adstrinxisti, quas non tam amicas, quam amicissimas, non tam socias, quam

panions and friends; as inhabitants of the Paraclete, we are your daughters. Were there any more tender name, we are conscious of deserving it.

Of this we have no need of formal evidence: our relation, though we were silent, is abundantly manifest. Under God, you are the founder of this monastery; you erected this oratory; you established this congregation: you built nothing upon another's foundation; this is all your creation. It was the haunt of wild beasts; it was unfrequented by man, unless sometimes as the lurking-place of thieves and robbers: you have converted it, without any human aid, into the temple of God, and dedicated it to his Holy Spirit. Not the beneficence of princes, but your own genius and fame, reared and endowed it.

quàm filias convenit nominari; vel si quod dulcius, & sanctius vocabulum potest excogitari.

Quanto autem debito te erga eas obligaveris, non argumentis, non testimoniis indiget, ut quasi dubium comprobetur; & si omnes taceant, res ipsa clamat. Hujus quippe loci tu post Deum, solus es fundator, solus hujus oratorii constructor, solus hujus congregationis ædificator. Nihil hic super alienum ædificasti fundamentum. Totum quod hic est, tua creatio est; solitudo hæc feris tantum, sive latronibus vacans, nullam hominum habitationem noverat, nullam domum habuerat. In ipsis cubilibus ferarum, in ipsis latibulis latronum, ubi nec nominari Deus solet, di-inum erexisti tabernaculum, & Spiritui Sancto proprium dedicasti templum. Nihil ad hoc ædificandam ex regum vel principum opibus intulisti, cum plurima posses, & maxima ut quicquid fieret tibi soli posset adscribi. Clerici, sive scholares
huc

it. Scholars from every quarter flocked to hear you, and to improve by your lectures: they supplied every thing necessary; they, many of them ecclesiastics, more accustomed to receive than to give, were here generous and profuse in their fees and contributions.

Wherefore this vineyard is altogether yours; but, as you planted, so you ought to water it; it is delicate by nature: Abeillard, we are women! In writing to the Corinthians, whom he had lately converted, Paul says, "I have planted, Apollo has watered, but God has given the increase." At St. Gildas, where you preside as abbot, your labour is unsuccessful; you cast
your

Hinc certatim ad disciplinam tuam confluentes omnia ministrabant necessaria; & qui de beneficiis vivebant ecclesiasticis, nec oblationes facere noverant, sed suscipere, & qui manus ad suscipiendum, non ad dandum habuerant, hic in oblationibus faciundis prodigi atque importuni fiebant.

Tua itaque, vere tua hæc est proprie in sancto proposito novella plantatio, cujus adhuc teneris maxime plantis frequens, ut proficiant, necessaria est irrigatio. Satis ex ipsa foeminei sexus natura debilis est hæc plantatio; est infirma, etsi non esset nova. Unde diligentiorum culturam exigit, & frequentiorum, juxta illud apostoli: "Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit, Deus autem incrementum dedit." Plantaverat apostolus atque fundaverat in fide per prædicationis suæ doctrinam Corinthios quibus scribebat. Rigaverat postmodum eos ipse apostoli discipulus Apollo sacris exhortationibus, & sic eis incrementum virtutum divina largita est gratia. Vitis alienæ vineam, quam non plantasti, in amaritudine tibi conversam, admonitionibus sæpe cassis, & sacris frustra sermonibus excolis. Quid tuæ debeas attende, qui sic curæ impendis alienæ. Doces & admones rebelles, nec proficis.

your pearls before swine : how precious should they be to us ! You are prodigal to your enemies ; you are regardless of your own children ! I might omit others ; I might request you to turn your thoughts on me alone : whatever your obligations may be to other devout women, surely Heloisa may prefer some claim to the regard of Abeillard !

You know better than I do, the number of treatises written by the fathers for the instruction and consolation of holy women ; and could Abeillard write nothing for the comfort and edification of his Heloisa ? Was all the tenderness of their former intercourse consigned to oblivion ? Will neither the fear of God, the love of us, nor the example of the fathers, move you to soothe me, agitated and spent with grief, to visit me

Frustra ante porcos divini eloquii margaritas spargis. Qui obstinatis tanta impendis, quid obedientibus debeas considera. Qui tanta hostibus largiris, quid filiabus debeas meditare. Atque ut cæteras omittam, quanto erga me te obligaveris debito, pensa ; ut quod devotis communiter debes feminis unicæ tuæ devotius solvas.

Quot autem, & quantos tractatus in doctrina, vel exhortatione, seu etiam in consolatione sanctarum foeminarum sancti patres, & quanta eos diligentia composuerint tua melius excellentia quam nostra parvitas novit. Unde non mediocri admiratione nostræ teneræ conversionis initia tua jamdudum oblivio movit, quod nec reverentia Dei, nec amore nostri, nec sanctorum patrum exemplis admonitus, fluctuantem me, & jam mœrore diutino confectam, vel sermone præsentem, vel epistola absentem consolari tentaveris. Cui quidem

me personally, nor to write me one line of comfort? Need I mention to you your solemn relation to me as my wedded husband? a relation, however, which sinks far beneath the obligation which arises from the extreme ardour of my affection for you.

You know, my dearest Abeillard, all know how much I lost in losing you: that cruel act of treachery, so notorious, so shocking to you, overwhelmed me. The more excruciating the pain, the more instant and powerful ought to be the remedies: you only can furnish them; you, the author of my wretchedness, can only give me comfort and joy. You owe your endeavour at least to solace me; for I have left nothing undone to gratify you. I sacrificed myself; and, dearly as I loved the

the

quidem tanto te majore debito noveris obligatum, quanto te amplius nuptialis fœdere sacramenti constat esse allicitum; & eo te magis mihi obnoxium, quo te semper, ut omnibus patet, immoderato amore complexa sum.

Noſti, chariſſime, noverunt omnes, quanta in te amiſerim, & quam miſerabili caſu ſumma, & ubique nota prodiſio me- ipſam quoque mihi tecum abſtulerit, & incomparabiliter major ſit dolor ex amiſſionis modo, quam ex damno. Quo vero major eſt dolendi cauſa, majora ſunt conſolationis adhibenda remedia. Non utique ab alio, ſed a teiſpo, ut qui ſolus es in cauſa dolendi, ſolus ſis in gratia conſolandi. Solus quippe es qui me contriſtare, qui me lætificare, ſeu conſolari valeas. Et ſolus es qui plurimum id mihi debeas, & tunc maxime cum univerſa quæ jufferis in tantum impleverim, ut cum te in aliquo offendere non poſſem meipſam pro juſſu tuo perdere ſuſtinerem. Et quod majus eſt, diſtante mirabile, in tantam verſus eſt amor inſaniam, ut quod ſolum appetebat,

the world, at your request I abandoned it: my habit, my inclinations I changed, that I might prove myself, mind and body, yours, and at your disposal.

You only, Heaven knows! you purely, and not yours, I desired! I wanted not marriage, dowry, pleasure, nor my own will; but you! The more I humbled myself before you, the more claim, I thought, I had to your favour, and the less chance of injuring the high reputation which you had acquired.

This my generosity, I observe, you did not omit to mention to your Friend; nor did you forget

bat, hoc ipse sibi sine spe recuperationis auferret. Cum ad tuam statim jussionem tam habitum ipsa quam animum immutarem; et te tam corporis mei quam animi unicuique possessorum ostenderem.

Nihil unquam, Deus scit, in te, nisi te requisivi; te pare, non tua concupiscens. Non matrimonii fœdera, non dotes aliquas expectavi, non denique meas voluptates, aut voluntates; sed tuas, sicut ipse nosti, adimplere studii. Et si uxoris nomen sanctius, ac validius videtur, dulcius mihi semper extitit, amicæ vocabulum; aut si non indigneris, concubinx, vel scortii. Ut quo me videlicet pro te amplius humiliarem, ampliores apud te consequerer gratiam, & sic etiam excellentiæ tuæ gloriam minus læderem.

Quod & tu ipse tui gratia, oblitus penitus non fuisti, in ea quam supra memini ad amicam epistola pro consolatione directâ. Ubi & rationes nonnullas, quibus te a conjugii nostri insauro thalamis, revocare conabar, exponere non es designatus. Sed plerisque tacitis, quibus amorem conjugio, liber.

forget the reasons which I urged for my opinion and conduct. By all that is sacred! I swear, that I would this moment prefer the love of Abeillard to the empire of the world! Merit consists not in wealth and power, but in virtue.

Mean and venal is the woman who prefers a man merely on account of his riches: she marries his wealth, that is her reward: affection she wanted not, and cannot enjoy: she sold, she prostituted herself for money. This is clearly the opinion of *Æschines*, the disciple of *Socrates*: "When you and your wife are convinced," says he, "that there is not a better man, nor a happier woman, on earth, you will exert yourselves the more to maintain that concord and enjoy."

libertatem vinculo preferebam. Deum testem invoco, si me Augustus, universo præsidens mundo, matrimonii honore dignaretur totumque mihi orbem confirmaret in perpetuum præsidendum, charius mihi, & dignius videretur tua dici meretrrix, quam illius imperatrix. Non enim quo quisque ditior sive potentior, ideo & melior; fortunæ illud est, hoc virtutis.

Nec se minime venalem æstimet esse quæ libentius ditiori quam pauperi nubit, & plus in marito suo quam ipsa concupiscit. Certe quæcumque ad nuptias hæc concupiscentia ducit, merces ei potius quam gratia debetur. Certum quippe est eam res ipsas, non hominem sequi, & se, si posset, velle prostituere ditiori. Sicut inductio illa *Aspasia* philosophæ apud Socraticum *Æschinem* cum *Xenophonte* & uxore ejus habita manifeste convincit. Quam quidem inductionem cum prædicta philosopha ad reconciliandos invicem illos proposuisset, tali fine conclusit: "Quia ubi hoc peregeritis, ut neque vir melior, neque scæmina in terris lætior sit; profecto semper id quod optimum putabis esses multo maxime requi."

“enjoyment: Xenophon will be happy, that he
 “is married to the best of women; and she, that
 “her husband is the best of men.”

Sacred, and affecting sentiments! peculiar to
 wisdom, rather than philosophy! were they even
 founded on error, they would be pleasing! they
 are the pledge of mutual fidelity! the source of
 purity! the shield of virtue!

Others may fancy merit in their husbands;
 your merit was known, not to me only, but to
 the world. The higher and more confirmed my
 esteem, the more ardent my love. What phi-
 losopher, or king, was equal to you in fame?
 What village, city, kingdom, did not burn with
 desire to see you? Who, that had an opportu-
 nity,

“requiretis; ut & tu maritus sis quam optimæ, & hæc quam
 “optimo viro nupta sit.”

Sancta profecto hæc, & plusquam philosophica est senten-
 tia, ipsius potius sophiæ, quam philosophiæ dicenda.
 Sanctus hic error, & beata fallacia in conjugatis, ut perfecta
 dilectio illæsa custodiat matrimonii fœdera, non tam corpo-
 rum continentia, quam animorum pudicitia.

At quod error cæteris, veritas mihi manifesta contulerat.
 Cum quod illæ videlicet de suis æstimarent maritis, hoc ego
 de te, hoc mundus universus non tam crederet, quam sciret.
 Ut tanto verior in te meus amor existeret, quanto ab errore
 longius absteret. Quis etenim regum aut philosophorum
 tam exequare famam poterat? Quæ te regio, aut civitas,
 seu villa videre non æstuabat? Quis te rogo in publicum
 procedentem conspiciere non festinabat, ac discedentem collo-
 catio, oculis directis non insculabatur? Quæ conjugata,
 quæ

nity, did not run and strain to see you? When absent, you were longed for; when present, every bosom was on fire. Heloise, in possession of Abeillard, was the envy of women of the most distinguished rank.

Two qualifications, indeed, you peculiarly enjoyed; a tone of voice, and a grace in singing, which engaged every female heart. These are not common to philosophical men: seldom do they vary their severer studies by the composition and performance of love-sonnets. In both these, you were so eminent as to charm all of every rank: I was usually the subject of them; my name was thus celebrated, and envied, in every city and region.

Other

quæ virgo non concupiscebat absentem, & non exardebat in præsentem? Quæ regina, vel præpotens fœmina gaudiis meis non invadebat vel thalamis?

Duo autem, fateor, tibi specialiter inrant, quibus fœminarum quarumlibet animos statim allicere poteras; detrandi videlicet, & cantandi gratia. Quæ cæteros minime philosophos affecutos esse novimus. Quibus quidam, quasi ludo quodam, laborem exercitii recreans philosophici pleraque amatoris metro, vel rithmo composita reliquisti carmina, quæ præ nimia suavitate, tam dictaminis, quam cantus, sæpius frequentata, tuum in ore omnium nomen incessanter tenebant: ut etiam illiteratos melodiz dulcedo tui non faceret immemores esse. Atque hinc maxime in amorem tui fœminæ suspirabant. Et cum horum pars maxima carminum nostros decantaret amores, multis me regionibus brevi tempore nunchavit, & multarum in me fœminarum accendit invidiam.

Quod

Other qualities, indeed, both of mind and body, adorned you, captivating to the female heart! but, proportioned to the envy which I then excited, ought now to be the pity shewn me. Sad is my reverse of fortune, and ought to move the tears of my bitterest enemies!

I was the cause, Abeillard; but you know I was the innocent cause, of your misfortunes. The disposition, not the effect, constitutes guilt; justice weighs motives, rather than actions. My dispositions and motives you may judge; for they were altogether known to you. On your conscience and judgment, I rest my cause.

But tell me, how has it happened that, since I assumed the veil by your command, you have never more regarded me? Why have I never
seen

Quod enim bonum animi vel corporis tuam non exornabat adolescentiam? Quam tunc mihi invidentem, nunc tantis privatis deliciis compati calamitas mea non compellat? Quam vel quem licet hostem, primitus debita compassio mihi nunc non emolliat?

Et plurimum nocens, plurimum ut nōsti sum innocens. Non enim rei affectus, sed efficientis affectus, in crimine est. Nec quæ fiunt, sed quo animo fiunt æquitas pensat. Quem autem animum in te semper habuerim, solus qui expertus ea judicare potes. Tuo examini cuncta committo, tuo per omnia cedo testimonio.

Dic' unum si vales, cum post conversionem nostram, quam tu solus facere decrevisti, in tantam tibi negligentiam atque oblivionem venerim, ut nec colloquio præsentis recreer, nec
absentis

seen you, nor heard from you? Tell me, Abigail; or, shall I tell you my suspicion, and the universal opinion? Passion, not friendship, attached you to me: the passion is spent, and left no trace of affection!

This, I am sorry to say, is not mine, so much as the general conclusion. How earnest my desire that it could be successfully contradicted? Willingly would I invent some excuse, or any credible pretext, which, by diminishing my own pretensions to your notice, might extenuate the fault of your neglect.

Listen, I beseech you, to my request; grant me what to you is so easy. If you will not see me, indulge me at least with a few lines, which, next to your personal presence, shall sweeten a portion

absentis epistola consolari: dic, inquam, si vales, aut ego quod sentio, imo quod omnes suspicantur dicam. Concupiscentia te mihi potius quam amicitia sociavit, libidinis ardor, potius quam amor. - Ubi igitur quod desiderabas cessavit, quicquid propter hoc exhibebas pariter evanuit.

Hæc, dilectissime, non tam mea est quam omnium conjectura, non tam specialis quam communis, non tam privata quam publica. Utinam mihi soli sic videretur, atque alios in excusationem sui amor tines inveniret per quos dolor meus paululum resideret. Utinam occasiones fingere possem, quibus te excusando mei quoquo modo tegerem utilitatem.

Attende, obsecro, quæ requiro; & parva hæc videbuntur, & tibi facillima. Dum tui præsentia fraudor, verborum saltem votis, quorum tibi copia est tuæ mihi imaginis præsentia dulcedinem. Frustra te in rebus dapilem expecto, si in verbis avaram

portion of this weary life. Can you deny a few words to me, who sacrificed every thing for your sake? who remain in my present situation by your appointment? for it was not religion which constrained me to monastic confinements and austerity, but your order. If you requite me not, then I can have no reward. God I have not served, but you. Your wish I anticipated; you feared lest, like Lot's wife, I might look back on the world, and therefore secured me in a monastery before you entered it yourself. In this, I confess, my confidence in you was diminished. Abeillard, I blushed for you; yet, had it been to death, at your nod, I should have with equal cheerfulness followed you! for my soul was yours, and at your disposal: even now, as certainly as it exists, it is with you; without you it cannot exist. O, then! receive, cherish it

ten-

rum sustineo. Nunc vero plurimum a te me promeriti credideram, cum omnia propter te compleverim, nunc in tuo maxime perseverans obsequio. Quam quidem juvenulam ad monasticæ conversationis asperitatem, non religionis devotio, sed tua tantum pertraxit jussio. Ubi si nihil a te promerear, quam frustra laborem; dijudica. Nulla mihi super hæc merces expectanda a Deo, cujus adhuc amore nihil me constat egisse. Properantem te ad Deum secuta sum habitu, imo præcessi. Quasi enim memor uxoris Loti retro conversæ, prius me sacris vestibus, & professione monastica quam te ipsum Deo mancipasti. In quo, fateor, uno minus de te me confidere vehementer dolui atque erubui. Ego, autem Deus scit, ad vulcania loca te properantem præcedere, vel sequi pro jussu tuo minime dubitarem. Non enim mecum animus meus, sed tecum erat. Sed & nunc maxime si tecum non est, nusquam est. Esse vero sine te nequaquam potest. Sed ut tecum bene sis age obsecro. Bene autem tecum fuerit, si

tenderly; it is happy, if you are affectionate. I requite all its fondness with but a little regard; repay but with a few words to me the sacrifice of my life: but you are secure of my love, and therefore the less solicitous; in this confidence you neglect me. Yet remember what I have done for you, and think whether you be under no obligation to me.

The motive of my attachment to you was once to others uncertain; now it cannot be doubtful: every other pleasure I relinquished for you; yours will was my sole pleasure: for myself I reserved nothing, so that I might be completely yours. Is there no iniquity in withholding from me, the more I give to you? How small is the favour which I ask! What can be more easy for you, than to soothe me with a few words?

By that God, then, to whom you are consecrated,

si te propitium invenerit, si gratiam referas pro gratia, modica pro magnis, verba pro rebus. Utinam, dilecte, tua de me dilectio minus consideret, ut sollicitior esset! Sed quo te amplius nunc securum reddidi, negligentiores sustineo. Memmento obsecro quæ fecerim, & quanta debeas, attende.

Dum tecum carnali fruerer voluptate, utrum id amore, vel libidine agerem, incertum pluribus habebatur. Nunc autem finis indicat, quo id inchoaverim principio. Omnes denique voluptates mihi interdixi, ut tuæ parerem voluntati. Nihil mihi referavi, nisi sic tuam nunc præcipue fieri. Quæ vero tua sit iniquitas, perpende, si merenti amplius persolvis minus, imò nihil penitus; præsertim cum parvum sit quod exigeris, & tibi facillimum.

Per ipsum itaque, cui te obtulisti, Deum te obsecro, ut

APPENDIX.

crated, I beseech you, by the only means in your power, visit me with some lines, of consolation: it will ease my mind; I shall engage more cheerfully in sacred duties. When I was an object of pleasure to you, one letter incessantly followed another: I was the constant theme of your pen in sonnets and epistles; my name was sung in every house and street. Might not the love of God now move you to encourage me in his service? You know your duty; only consider it; regard my request. This long epistle I conclude briefly. My only friend, farewell.

quoquomodo potes tuam mihi presentiam reddas, consolationem videlicet mihi aliquam rescribendo. Hoc saltem pacto, ut sic recreata divino alacrior vacem obsequio. Cum me ad temporales olim voluptates expeteres, crebris me epistolis visitabas, frequenti carmine tuam more omnium Heloissam ponebas. Me plateæ omnes, me domus singulæ resonabant. Quanto autem rectius me nunc in Deum, quam tunc in libidinem excitaris? Perpende, obsecro, quæ debes, attende quæ postulo; & longam epistolam brevi hæc concludo. Vale, unice.

APPENDIX.

ABEILLARD'S ANSWER.

ABEILLARD TO HELOISA,

His beloved Sister in Christ.

THAT I have never written to you since our conversion, either to console or admonish you, is to be ascribed, not to my neglect, but to my confidence in your prudence. The talents with which you are liberally distinguished by Heaven, qualify you for teaching others, and for edifying them both by doctrine and example.

To this you were long ago accustomed, when prioress

ABELARDI RESPONSIO.

*Heloisæ, dilectissimæ Sorori suæ in Christo, Abeilardus Frater
ejus in ipso.*

Quoniam post nostram a sæculo ad Deum conversionem nondum tibi aliquid consolationis, vel exhortationis scripserim, non negligentia meæ, sed tuæ, de qua semper plurimum confido, prudentiæ imputandum est. Non enim eam his indigere credidi, cui abundanter quæ necessaria sunt, divina gratia impertivit; ut tam verbis quam exemplis errantes valeas docere, pusillanimos consolari, tepidos exhortari.

Sicut & facere jamdudum consuevisti, cum sub abbatisa
prioratum

APPENDIX.

priores of Argenteuil, under the abbess: the same talents and conduct render you now, as an abbess yourself, more eminently useful, and independent of any doctrine or lesson of mine. Yet if, in your humility, you think otherwise, and if, especially in things pertaining to the service of God, you require my counsel, suggest the subject to me, and as God shall enable me I will readily write you.

I thank God, whom it hath pleased to load me with affliction, that you so cordially sympathise with me. May the Divine Mercy, through your prayers, protect me, and soon bruise Satan under my feet. In this view, I delay not to send you the form of Divine Service, earnestly solicited by you, my sister, once dear to me in the world, now very dear to me in Christ, that you may daily offer the sacrifice of prayers in my behalf,

prioratum obtineres. Quod si nunc tanta diligentia tua provideas filiabus, quanta tunc sororibus; satis esse credimus, ut jam omnino superfluum doctrinam, vel exhortationem nostram, arbitrentur. Sin autem humilitati tuæ aliter videtur, & in iis etiam, quæ ad Deum pertinent, magisterio nostro, æque scriptis indiges, super his quæ velis, scribe mihi, ut ad ipsam referbam prout Dominus mihi annuerit.

Deo autem gratias, qui gravissimorum, & assiduorum periculorum meorum sollicitudinem vestris cordibus inspirans, afflictionis meæ participes vos fecit; ut orationum suffragio vestrarum divina miseratione me protegat, & velociter Satanam sub pedibus nostris conterat. Ad hoc autem præcipue Psalterium quod a me sollicite requisisti, soror in sæculo quondam chara, nunc in Christo charissima, mittere maturavi. In quo videlicet pro peccatis magnis, & multis excessibus, & quotidiana

behalf, for the pardon of my sins, and my protection against the dangers which threaten me.

The great efficacy of the prayers of the faithful with God, and especially of holy women for their friends and husbands, is attested by many examples. [*Here he produces many proofs and examples from Scripture, &c.*]

With what fervour, my dear Heloisa, you recommended me, when I was formerly with you, to the care of Providence! every day, prayers, at several different hours, were offered up in my behalf! now they are much more needful. [*Follows a Form, which he requests may be used for him.*]

But,

tidiana periculorum meorum instantia, jure Domino sacrificium immoles orationum.

Quantum autem locum apud Deum & sanctos ejus fidelium orationes obtineant, & maxime mulierum pro charis suis, & uxorum pro viris, multa nobis occurrunt testimonia & exempla. Quod diligenter attendens apostolus, sine intermissione orare nos admones, &c.

Nôsti, dilectissima, quantum charitatis effectum præsentiae meae conventus olim vester in oratione solitus sit exhibere. Ad expletionem namque quotidie singularum horarum specialem pro me Domino supplicationem hanc offerre consuevit, ut responso proprio, cum versu ejus præmissis, & decantatis, preces his & collectam in hunc modum subjungeret, “Non me derelinquas nec discedas a me, Domine,” &c.

Quod

But, if it shall be the will of God to deliver me into the hands of mine enemies, and to permit them to take away my life; or if, by any other means, I shall go the way of all flesh; let my body, I pray you, wherever it may be found, buried or unburied, be conveyed to the Paraclet: that you, my sister, by the sight of my sepulchre, may be the more intensely moved to supplicate Heaven in my behalf. To a mind loaded with a sense of the guilt and power of sin, where can there be found such repose as in the oratory of the Paraclet, the comforter, the residence of holy women, consecrated and devoted to God? Such were the last attendants of our Lord; they embalmed his body; they watched his sepulchre; they were the first witnesses of his resurrection;—
 “This,

Quod si me Dominus in manibus inimicorum tradiderit, scilicet ut ipsi prævalentes me interficiant, aut quocunque casu viam universæ carnis absens à vobis ingrediar; cadaver obsecro nostrum, ubicunque vel sepultum, vel expositum jacuerit, ad cimiterium vestrum deferri faciatis, ubi sistæ hostiæ, imò in Christo sorores, sepulchrum nostrum sæpius videntes, ad preces pro me Domino fundendas amplius invitentur. Nullum quippe locum animæ dolenti, de peccatorum suorum errore desolatæ, tutiorem ac salubriorem arbitror, quam eum qui vero Paracleto, id est, consolatori propriè consecratus est, & de ejus nomine specialiter insignitus. Nec Christianæ sepulturæ locum rectius apud aliquos fideles, quam apud scæminas in Christo devotas consistere censeo. Quæ de Domini Jesu Christi sepultura solici æ, eam unguentis preciosis, & prævenerunt, & subsecutæ sunt, & circa ejus sepulchrum studiose vigilantes, & spongi mortem læcrimabiliter plangentes, sicut scriptum est, “Mulieres sedentes ad monumentum lamentabantur fientes Dominum.” Primo ibidem de resurrectione ejus angelica apparitione, & allocutione sunt consolatæ, & statim ipsius de resurrectionis gaudia

This, then, is my last request, that you extend your extreme affection for me living, to the salvation of my soul when separated from my body. Live, Heloisa! Farewell; and, while you and your sisters live, remember me in Christ.

gaudio, eo bis eis apparente, percipere meruerunt, & manibus contractare.

Illud autem demum super omnia postulo, ut qua nunc de corporis mei periculo nimia sollicitudine laboratis, tunc precipue de salute animæ sollicitæ, quantum dilexeritis vivum exhibeatis defuncto, orationum videlicet vestrarum speciali quodam, & proprio suffragio. Vive, vale, vivantque tuæ, valeantque sorores. Vivite, sed Christo quæso mei memores.

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to the Accession of HUGH CAPET, A. D. 987.**

By the Rev. ALEXANDER RANKEN, D. D.

ONE OF THE MINISTERS OF GLASGOW.

